Teaching and Researching
Motivation
Zoltán Dörnyei
and Ema Ushioda

Second Edition
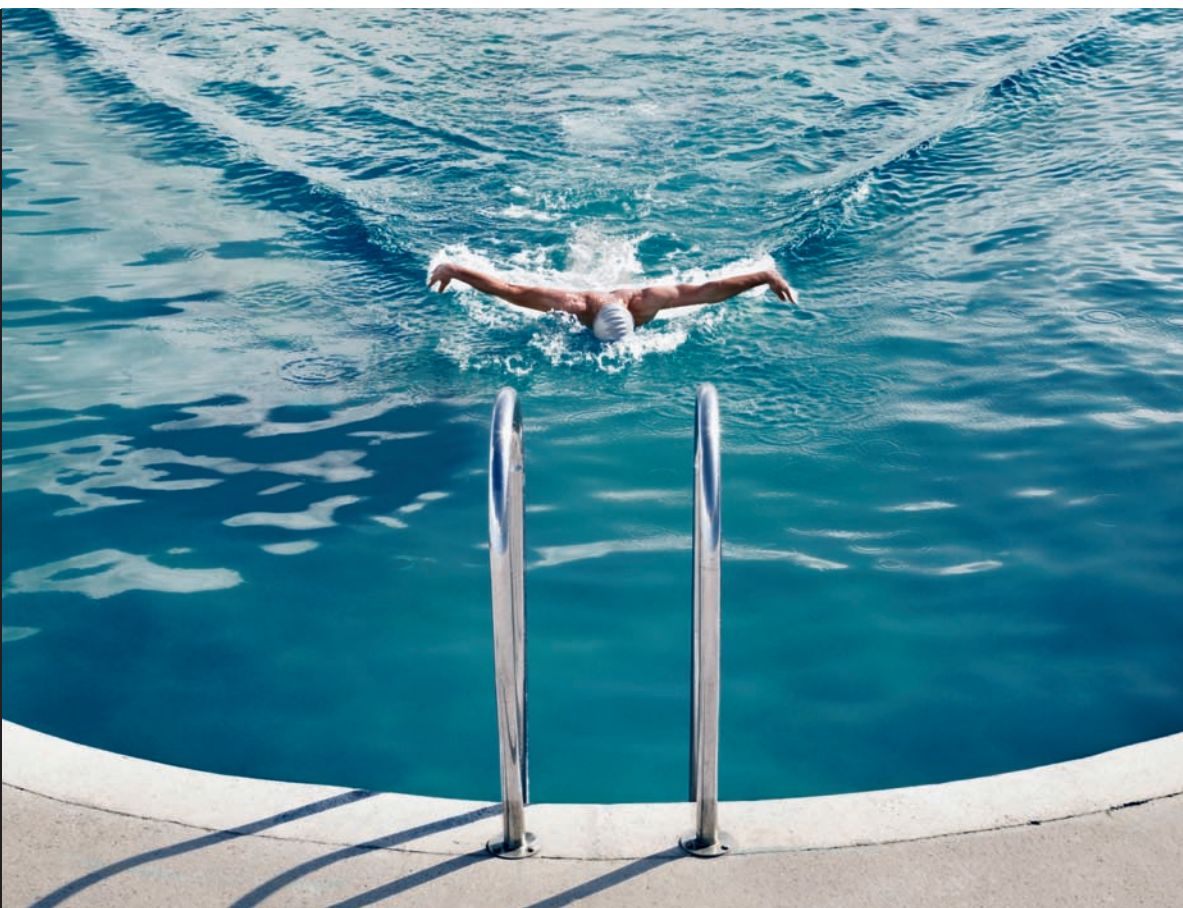
Teaching and Researching Motivation

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Teaching and Researching Motivation

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Contents

General editors' preface

Applied Linguistics *in Action*, as its name suggests, is a Series which focuses on the issues and challenge to teachers and researchers in a range of fields in Applied Linguistics and provides readers and users with the tools they need to carry out their own practice-related research.

The books in the Series provide the reader with clear, up-to-date, accessible and authoritative accounts of their chosen field within Applied Linguistics. Starting from a map of the landscape of the field, each book provides information on its main ideas and concepts, competing issues and unsolved questions. From there, readers can explore a range of practical applications of research into those issues and questions, and then take up the challenge of undertaking their own research, guided by the detailed and explicit research guides provided. Finally, each book has a section which provides a rich array of resources, information sources and further reading, as well as a key to the principal concepts of the field.

Questions the books in this innovative Series ask are those familiar to all teachers and researchers, whether very experienced, or new to the fields of Applied Linguistics.

1. What does research tell us, what doesn't it tell us and what should it tell us about the field? How is the field mapped and landscaped? What is its geography?
2. How has research been applied and what interesting research possibilities does practice raise? What are the issues we need to explore and explain?

3. What are the key researchable topics that practitioners can undertake? How can the research be turned into practical action?
4. Where are the important resources that teachers and researchers need? Who has the information? How can it be accessed?

Each book in the Series has been carefully designed to be as accessible as possible, with built-in features to enable readers to find what they want quickly and to home in on the key issues and themes that concern them. The structure is to move from practice to theory and back to practice in a cycle of development of understanding of the field in question.

Each of the authors of books in the Series is an acknowledged authority, able to bring broad knowledge and experience to engage teachers and researchers in following up their own ideas, working with them to build further on *their* own experience.

The first editions of books in this series have attracted widespread praise for their authorship, their design and their content, and have been widely used to support practice and research. The success of the series, and the realisation that it needs to stay relevant in a world where new research is being conducted and published at a rapid rate, have prompted the commissioning of this second edition. This new edition has been thoroughly updated, with accounts of research that have appeared since the first edition and with the addition of other relevant additional material. We trust that students, teachers and researchers will continue to discover inspiration in these pages to underpin their own investigations.

Chris Candlin & David Hall
General Editors

Acknowledgements

Introduction to the Second Edition

Since the publication of the first edition of *Teaching and Researching Motivation* the research landscape of language learning motivation has changed almost beyond recognition. At the turn of the millennium, when Zoltán was finalising the original manuscript, the big story in motivation research was the gradual shift away from Robert Gardner's social psychological approach – associated with the classic concept of integrative motivation – towards a more complex, more dynamic and more situated approach with a more pronounced educational relevance. Thus, key themes to be covered in the book then involved how the concept of motivation could and should be broadened, and what kind of practical implications the extended paradigms were able to offer. The first edition also contained a detailed description of motivation conceived as a process, pioneering discussions of demotivation and teacher motivation, as well as a call for more qualitative and mixed methods research in future studies on motivation.

Thus, the first edition of *Teaching and Researching Motivation* reflected the confusing richness of material generated by the 'motivational renaissance' of the 1990s, outlining a fertile ground for further developments. Over the past decade, many of the initiatives described in the book have indeed matured and evolved further, while some of the theories that were highlighted then have lost their relevance. Most importantly, while the field as a whole still recognises Robert Gardner's hugely beneficial role in laying down the foundations for L2 motivation research and educating a new generation of scholars to take up the baton, in the 21st century talking about integrative or instrumental orientations has a rather historical feel about it – circumstances have

changed and so have research priorities and interests. Language global-isation has become an irreversible fact of life and the validity of large-scale, group-based surveys that were driving motivation research in the past has been questioned on several fronts, along with the relevance of explaining motivational impact in terms of linear cause-effect relationships.

With regard to more specific theories, self-determination theory has maintained its presence, particularly in the light of the substantial prac-tical interest in learner autonomy in the classroom in some parts of the world, and attribution theory is still highly relevant even though, strangely, it has never really taken off within L2 motivation research. The process-oriented approach, which was prominently highlighted in the first edition, has merged into a rapidly emerging broader strand within SLA, the study of complex dynamic systems; and a new com-prehensive theory of motivation, the 'L2 Motivational Self System', has been proposed by the first author. This theory shifted the gravity of L2 motivation research towards the analysis of language identity, which was welcomed by motivation researchers who had pursued qualitative, interpretive agendas, and the emerging new orientation also coincided with similar research directions prominent in postmodern interpretive approaches to exploring sociocultural diversity and fluidity in SLA, with an emphasis on ethnicity, identity and hybridity. There is no doubt that a particularly fruitful way forward in L2 motivation research is to focus on the close relationship between identity processes and motivational processes, and on how engagement in learning might be linked to membership in an imagined or real community.

Thus, the time has become ripe to produce an update of this book, and it soon became clear that such an update will have to be more than a mere facelift – the bulk of the material needed major revision. In response to this challenge, Zoltán invited Ema to co-author the new edition so that together we could do more justice to the growing significance of qualitative, situative, non-positivist research in the field. The new edition was also timely because we have recently completed an edited volume on L2 motivation – *Motivation, Language Identity and the L2 Self* (Dörnyei and Ushioda, 2009) – which contained contribu-tions by many of the currently active motivation researchers from four continents, and therefore we felt that we were in a fortunate position of being able to gauge the overall trajectory of the field.

The outcome of our efforts has turned out to be more than an ordinary revision – this second edition is by any definition a new book. Yet, we have tried to maintain the tried and proven general format,

structure and style of the first edition (and the whole series), along with all the material that has stood the test of time – a surprising amount, particularly in relation to classroom applications. Thus, this new version still has a whole chapter addressing motivational strategies and their classroom applications, and we maintained demotivation and teacher motivation as salient issues to cover. All in all, we can say that we have genuinely enjoyed the cooperation as co-authors and we sincerely hope that the sum in this case is indeed greater than the parts. (And, of course, we can conveniently blame any possible mistakes on the other author!) Have fun!

Zoltán and Ema

1 What is motivation?

Exploring motivation: changing perspectives

This chapter will...

- describe the complex meaning of the term 'motivation';
- summarise key theoretical challenges and outline current directions.

The word motivation derives from the Latin verb *movere* meaning 'to move'. What moves a person to make certain choices, to engage in action, to expend effort and persist in action – such basic questions lie at the heart of motivation theory and research. Remarkably, however, these deceptively simple questions have generated a wealth of theory and research over the decades, provoked considerable debate and disagreement among scholars, spawned numerous theoretical models encompassing different variables and different understandings of the construct of motivation, and produced few clear straightforward answers. While intuitively we may know what we mean by the term 'motivation', there seems little consensus on its conceptual range of reference. In fact, according to Walker and Symons (1997), there was a point when the American Psychological Association considered replacing the word 'motivation' as a search term in the main psychological database, *Psychological Abstracts*, because, as a concept, it had too much meaning and therefore was not very useful.

1.1 The complexity of motivation

What has prevented a consensus in our understanding of motivation? Perhaps a helpful analogy to draw here is with the well-known Indian fable of the blind men encountering an elephant, each touching a different part of the animal (tusk, tail, ear, trunk, belly) and ending up with a very different mental representation of the animal. Similarly when it comes to understanding motivation – that is, the potential range of influences on human behaviour – researchers are inevitably selective in their focus since it seems impossible to capture the whole picture. Therefore, let us state as a preliminary that no existing motivation theory to date has managed – or even attempted – to offer a comprehensive and integrative account of all the main types of possible motives, and it may well be the case that devising an integrative 'super-theory' of motivation will always remain an unrealistic desire. After all, motivation theories intend to explain nothing less than why humans think and behave as they do, and it is very doubtful that the complexity of this issue can be accounted for by a single theory. Let us start our exploration by surveying some of the most important dimensions of the motivational palette.

Concept 1.1   **The meaning of the term 'motivation'**

Perhaps the only thing about motivation most researchers would agree on is that it, by definition, concerns the *direction* and *magnitude* of human behaviour, that is:

- the *choice* of a particular action,
- the *persistence* with it,
- the *effort* expended on it.

In other words, motivation is responsible for

- *why* people decide to do something,
- *how long* they are willing to sustain the activity,
- *how hard* they are going to pursue it.

1.1.1 Cognition versus affect: changing emphases

Early theories of motivation focused very much on deep-seated unconscious drives, emotions and instincts shaping human behaviour, influenced in particular by the work of Freud (e.g. 1966); whereas

through the second half of the 20th century the science of human motivation became characterised by a focus on conscious cognitive processes (e.g. goals and expectations, self-efficacy beliefs, interpretations of events) shaping action and behaviour. Thus, attention has been divided between conscious and unconscious motivational processes, as well as between the roles of cognition and affect in motivation, with few theories attempting to integrate affect and cognition in a unified framework (a notable exception being *attribution theory*, as developed by Weiner, 1986; see Section 2.1.1).

Although cognitive perspectives on motivation continue to hold sway today, the first decade of the 21st century has witnessed a resurgence of interest in the role of emotions in motivational psychology. As Ryan (2007) summarises, this resurgence seems to have come about through a number of parallel developments in the field of psychology: interest in evolutionary psychology has focused attention on what constitutes human nature and uncovered the importance of motives and emotions; at the same time the growing field of cross-cultural psychology has begun to explore culturally specific motives, emotions and values; the recent rise of 'positive psychology' has increased interest in the study of personal meaning, motives and emotional well-being; meanwhile scientific advances in neuropsychology have facilitated analysis of how behaviour and experience are influenced by subcortical inputs associated with psychological needs and affects. As Ryan explains, the resurgence of interest in the emotional dimension of human motivation does not mean that the cognitive dimension is no longer important. Rather the challenge now is to develop theoretical frameworks that integrate these twin dimensions in a coherent way. We shall examine current developments in this area in Chapters 2 and 4.

1.1.2   Motivation as cause, effect or process: the challenge of time

Researchers have also paid selective attention to different stages of the motivation process, with many focusing on the initial motivational phase of choosing and engaging in actions (e.g. expectancy-value frameworks, Wigfield and Eccles, 2000; see Section 2.1.1), or on the subsequent effects of actions and experiences on motivation (e.g. learned helplessness, Peterson et al., 1993). This division of attention reflects a history of debate within the educational field as to whether motivation is primarily a 'cause' or an 'effect' of learning, with the general consensus now being that it functions in a cyclical relationship with learning. This is theorised in terms of positive cycles of 'high motivation → high achievement → high motivation', or negative cycles

of 'low motivation → low achievement → low motivation', and much research attention has focused on how such negative cycles can be broken by modifying the cognitive processes (e.g. learners' self-perceptions and interpretations of events) that mediate the relationship between motivation and learning (e.g. Dweck, 1999; McCombs, 1994).

However, most people's experience of motivation in real life is rather more complex than simply perceiving cause-and-effect binary states before and after a task or an event. Motivation to do something usually evolves gradually, through a complex mental process that involves initial planning and goal setting, intention formation, task generation, action implementation, action control and outcome evaluation. These different subphases of the motivation process may be associated with different motives. Ignoring 'time' can (and often does) result in a situation when two theories are equally valid and yet contradict – simply because they refer to different *phases* of the motivation process. Moreover, when we talk about sustained long-term activities such as learning a foreign language, motivation does not remain constant during the course of months, years or even during a single lesson. It ebbs and flows in complex ways in response to various internal and external influences. Remarkably, however, relatively little research has addressed the process of motivational development over time, either at the micro-level of moment-by-moment experience or the macro-level of long-term experience or life history. Thus the diachronic aspect of motivation further complicates attempts to represent the concept in a unified way. We shall see in later chapters how current theoretical approaches are rising to this challenge.

> **Quote 1.1** Dörnyei and Ottó's definition of L2 motivation
>
> In a general sense, motivation can be defined as the dynamically changing cumulative arousal in a person that initiates, directs, coordinates, amplifies, terminates, and evaluates the cognitive and motor processes whereby initial wishes and desires are selected, prioritised, operationalised and (successfully or unsuccessfully) acted out.
>
> Dörnyei and Ottó (1998: 65)

1.1.3   The growing importance of context

In addition, theories of motivation have ascribed different emphases to *social context*. In behaviourist theories of learning, external environmental

influences on motivation – such as rewards and punishment – played a prominent role, leading to common depictions of 'carrot-and-stick' methods of motivation. However, with the cognitive revolution through the 1970s the analytical lens became focused on the inner workings of the human mind that process information and shape behaviour, where socio-contextual factors are important only in so far as they are filtered through the individual's perceptions. This makes intuitive sense since it is individuals who initiate actions and the imme-diate cause of human behaviour is indeed individual motivation. The problem with this position is that it is incomplete. Humans are social beings and human action is always embedded in a number of physical, cultural and psychological contexts, which considerably affect a per-son's cognition, behaviour and achievement (for a review, see Ushioda, 2007; see also Concept 1.2).

Concept 1.2   **Two perspectives of the social world: individualistic and societal**

Psychologists looking at the relationship between the individual and the surrounding social world have typically adopted one of two perspectives: an *individualistic* or a *societal*.

1. In the *individualistic perspective*, the complexity of the social environ-ment is only important inasmuch as it is reflected in the individual's mental processes and the resulting attitudes, beliefs and values; that is, this perspective views the social world through the individual's eyes. The individualistic perspective is most fully exploited in *social cognition theory*, which concerns how individuals process and store information about other people and how these mental processes affect their interaction with them.

2. The *societal perspective* focuses on broad social processes and macro-contextual factors, such as sociocultural norms, intergroup relations, acculturation/assimilation processes and interethnic conflicts; from this perspective, the individual is usually seen as a reactive 'pawn' whose behaviour is determined by the more powerful forces at large. The most influential paradigm in this vein is *social identity theory*.

The tension between the two perspectives has been one of the most basic dilemmas in social psychology, dividing researchers into two starkly separated camps. (For an overview of the interrelationship of the two perspectives, see Abrams and Hogg, 1999.)

Within the last decade or so, in fact, attention has been turning once again to the role of context. Yet rather than a retreat to behaviourism, this recent shift in thinking represents growing interest in the dynamic interaction between individual and socio-contextual factors, reflecting what some have called a second cognitive revolution or 'discursive turn' in psychological theorising (see Harré and Gillett, 1994: 18–36). Instead of viewing cognition or motivation as located solely within the individual mind, these phenomena are coming to be viewed as dynamically constructed in discursive interactions between people situated in particular sociocultural contexts. In later chapters (and especially in Chapter 4) we shall see how such dynamic contextual perspectives are reshaping motivation theory in psychology and L2 learning.

1.2 The challenge of reduction versus comprehensiveness

Thus, over the years researchers have developed different representations of the construct of motivation in relation to the relative roles of conscious and unconscious processes, cognition and affect, temporal and contextual factors. Taken collectively, a striking feature of all mainstream motivation theories has been their *lack of comprehensiveness*. They are typically anchored around a few selected motivational aspects (e.g. around a key concept or process), while largely ignoring research that follows different lines. This tendency is hardly surprising, given that the study of motivation concerns the immensely complex issue of human behaviour: because the number of potential determinants of human action is very extensive, a great deal of effort in motivation research has focused on drawing up *reductionist models* (Concept 1.3).

Concept 1.3   Reductionist models of motivation

Reductionist models of motivation reduce the multitude of potential determinants of human behaviour by identifying a relatively small number of key variables to explain a significant proportion of the variance in people's action. Thus, rather than being merely descriptive by listing all the relevant motives, such constructs are theory-driven. With regard to the specific behavioural domain they concern, reductionist models are able to achieve increased precision in explaining the interrelationship of the constituents, and the components can also be operationalised to allow for the empirical testing of the model.

From this perspective, the main difference between various competing theories lies in the selection of the principal factors to anchor the theory around. This can be compared to lifting a large, loosely knitted net (which symbolises human behaviour). If we lift it up by holding different knots, very different shapes will emerge, even though the actual net is exactly the same. The question, then, for motivational psychologists has been to decide which knots to grab (i.e. which factors to assign a key role in their theories) and how to lift the net up in order to obtain a shape that makes most sense (i.e. what kind of relationship to specify between selected factors). Various motivation theories have proposed different 'key' knots to be lifted, claiming that the selected central components subsume or mediate all the other main motives.

However, while the practice of mapping the multitude of motivational influences onto reductionist constructs may be appropriate from a theory-building perspective, the only way to do this effectively is by narrowing down the scope of behavioural events the theory is concerned with to a fairly homogeneous set, which may be insufficient to address complex real-world problems effectively. So, while a specific theory may be perfectly adequate to explain the motivational basis of a certain well-defined set of behaviours or course of action (e.g. decision to enrol in a credit-bearing language programme), it may be inappropriate to account for the intricate motivational life of actual classrooms.

Quote 1.2 Weiner on the complexity of student motivation

A theory of student motivation . . . will have to include many concepts and their interrelationships. Any theory based on a single concept, whether that concept is reinforcement, self-worth, optimal motivation, or something else, will be insufficient to deal with the complexity of classroom activities.

Weiner (1984: 18)

Yet even when a particular motivation theory is successful in explaining and predicting a specific course of action, the typical implication is that the actional process in question occurs in relative isolation, without any interference from other ongoing behaviours in which the actor is engaged. In reality, of course, we humans are always multitasking in our day-to-day lives, and in the typical classroom students' engagement in learning will interact with a complex variety of other competing attentional demands, activities, goals and pressures. Hardly

any research has been done to examine how people deal with multiple actions and goals (though see Wentzel, 2000), nor have we developed an adequate theory of motivation that addresses the parallel multiplicity of motivational processes that shape human behaviour.

> **Quote 1.3** Ushioda on the interdependence of motivation to learn foreign languages and other subject matters
>
> Traditionally, researchers have tended to focus on language learning motivation in isolation. The literature has emphasised the distinctiveness of the motivation to learn a language by identifying the unique behavioural and psychological implications of acquiring a new set of habits, and of allowing 'elements of another culture into one's own lifespace' (Gardner, 1979: 193). But what has perhaps been overlooked in the process is the reality that the flesh-and-blood language student is often at the same time a student of mathematics or science or history, or has been a student of other disciplines in the past. As attested by the subjects in this introspective study, the language learner, unlike the researcher, seems unlikely to perceive the motivation for language learning to be wholly independent of the motivation (or lack of motivation) for other areas of learning. This relative perspective may be instrumental in helping to define or modify the developing goal structure of students' language learning motivation, as they weigh the potential pros and cons of making particular choices and pursuing different vocational directions.
>
> Ushioda (1998: 83)

1.3   Moving beyond linear models of motivation

To reiterate what we stated in the introduction, the challenge of capturing and integrating all the multiple complexities of the antecedents of human behaviour within a comprehensive theory of motivation will undoubtedly remain elusive, and we shall probably never be able to grasp the whole picture. In this respect, theories of motivation will always remain constrained to the extent to which they draw on *linear models* to explain relationships between particular cognitive, affective and contextual variables. While capturing the temporal dimension of motivation may be possible in a linear model by breaking down the motivational sequence into discrete phases (Dörnyei, 2000; see also

Section 3.3), it is difficult to see how such a model could take account of evolving dynamic interactions with the social context or of the complexities of interacting cognitive and emotional processes and systems functioning within and between individuals at any point in time. The real world around us just does not seem to be operating in a linear fashion and therefore linear models are inherently flawed.

Not surprisingly, perhaps, the limitations of linear approaches to motivational theorising are now prompting a new wave of thinking, pushing forward relational and dynamic systems perspectives, against a background of parallel theoretical developments across the broader fields of psychology and second language acquisition (e.g. Larsen-Freeman and Cameron, 2008a). We shall review these current developments in detail in Chapter 4.

Quote 1.4 Dörnyei on the dynamic conception of motivation

Traditionally, we have thought of motives as exerting a linear effect on action, which was then captured quantitatively by means of correlation-based analyses (i.e. correlation, factor analysis, or structural equation modelling). However, motives interpreted as attractors do not necessarily have a linear relationship with ongoing action. Their pull or push is interfered with by a multitude of other pulls and pushes, and the relative power of a particular pull/push will be amplified or mitigated by particular constellations of environmental and temporal factors. This means, for example, that what was insignificant a short while ago might assume fleeting or enduring power now, depending on the circumstances. This dynamic conception requires a new approach to examining motivated behavioural trajectories . . .

Dörnyei (2009b: 210–11)

Theories of motivation in psychology

This chapter will...

- give a historical overview of the most influential motivation theories and constructs;
- discuss current developments and directions in motivation research.

As noted in Chapter 1, through the second half of the 20th century theories of motivation became shaped by the cognitive revolution in psychology which emerged in response to behaviourism. In this chapter we will first review the cognitive theories and constructs of motivation that have been particularly prominent in the field and that continue to influence thinking today. However, as we have also indicated in Chapter 1, contemporary motivational psychology is in a considerable state of flux with a number of parallel developments taking place and new directions emerging. In our review, therefore, we will also trace these developments and directions in relation to existing theoretical approaches and map current issues and perspectives which are pushing the boundaries of the cognitive approach.

2.1 Key cognitive theories and constructs of motivation

Cognitive theories of motivation focus on the instrumental role of mental structures, beliefs and information-processing mechanisms in

shaping individual behaviour and action. Motivation is viewed as located within the individual, though naturally the individual's cognitions and perceptions may be influenced by various social and environmental factors. While the mediational role of mental processes in shaping motivation is common to all cognitive approaches, there has been considerable variation in the range of cognitive-mediational processes theorised to be of importance, thus giving rise to several different cognitive models and constructs of motivation. The reason for such variation and selectivity is that, as noted in Chapter 1, much past research has been concerned with the challenge of reduction, that is, trying to distil a relatively small number of motivational factors that would subsume or mediate numerous other factors, thereby producing a theoretical (rather than descriptive) framework. Generally, such theoretical frameworks can be represented schematically as parsimonious models expressing the relationships among a select number of variables, as is the case with perhaps the most long-standing and influential framework in cognitive motivational psychology, expressed in its simplest form as: *expectancy × value = motivation* (see Concept 2.1). We will begin this review by examining this important theoretical framework in detail.

Concept 2.1   **Expectancy-value frameworks**

According to the main principles of expectancy-value theories, motivation to perform various tasks is the product of two key factors:

- the individual's *expectancy of success* in a given task and the rewards that successful task performance will bring.
- the *value* the individual attaches to success on that task, including the value of the rewards and of the engagement in performing the task.

The greater the perceived likelihood of goal-attainment and the greater the incentive value of the goal, the higher the degree of the individual's positive motivation. Conversely, it is unlikely that effort will be invested in a task if either factor is missing, that is, if the individual is convinced that he or she cannot succeed no matter how hard he or she tries, or if the task does not lead to valued outcomes.

2.1.1   Expectancy-value theories

Expectancy-value frameworks theorise that individuals' motivated decisions to engage in particular tasks and their performance and persistence can

be explained by their expectations of how well they will do on the task and how much they value its achievement. Atkinson's early classic model of *achievement motivation* integrated the constructs of need for achievement, expectancy and value into a comprehensive theory (see Concept 2.2), and initiated a strong tradition of expectancy-value theories of achievement motivation. Until the turn of the century, attention within this tradition focused predominantly on the expectancy (rather than task value) dimension of achievement motivation and, in particular, on the cognitive-mediational processes that determine expectancy.

Concept 2.2   Achievement motivation and need for achievement

Atkinson's achievement motivation theory (cf. Atkinson and Raynor, 1974) was the first comprehensive model of achievement motivation and dominated the field for decades. The theory was formulated within an expectancy-value framework since achievement behaviours were seen by Atkinson to be determined by *expectancies of success* and *incentive values*. To these he also added two further components in his model:

1. *Need for achievement*: Individuals with a high need for achievement are interested in excellence for its own sake (rather than for the extrinsic rewards it can bring), tend to initiate achievement activities, work with heightened intensity at these tasks and persist in the face of failure. This need becomes part of an individual's personality and affects the person's behaviour in every facet of life, including education.

2. *Fear of failure*: This is the opposite of need for achievement in that here the main drive to do well comes from avoiding a negative outcome rather than approaching a positive one.

Achievement motivation, then, was taken to be the sum of need for achievement, the probability of success and the incentive value of successful task fulfilment, minus the sum of fear of failure, the incentive to avoid failure and the probability of failure. That is, achievement-oriented behaviour was seen as the resultant of a conflict between approach and avoidance tendencies.

Expectancy of success

From an educational point of view, the key cognitive-mediational processes theorised to determine expectancy of success include:

- processing one's past experiences (*attribution theory*),
- judging one's own abilities and competence (*self-efficacy theory*),
- attempting to maintain one's self-esteem (*self-worth theory*).

Attributional processes form one of the most important influences on the formation of peoples' expectancies, and their investigation was the dominant model in research on student motivation in the 1980s. Attribution theory, based on the work of Bernard Weiner (e.g. 1992), is based on the assumption that people try to understand the causal determinants of their past successes and failures and that different types of causal attributions affect behaviour differently (see Concept 2.3).

Concept 2.3   **The main principle of attribution theory**

The main principle of attribution theory is that the causal attributions one makes of past successes and failures (i.e. inferences about why certain outcomes have occurred) have consequences on future achievement strivings. As Graham (1994) summarises, the most common attributions in school environments are those to

- ability
- effort
- task difficulty
- luck
- mood
- family background
- help or hindrance from others.

Among these, *ability* and *effort* have been identified as the most dominant perceived causes in western culture. Past failure that is ascribed to stable and uncontrollable factors such as low ability (e.g. 'I failed because I am too stupid') hinders future achievement behaviour more than failure that is ascribed to unstable and controllable factors (i.e. ones that the learner can change, such as effort; e.g. 'I didn't pass the test because I hadn't prepared enough for it').

As noted briefly in Chapter 1, attribution theory was also one of the few cognitive models of motivation to integrate emotions, in terms of the specific emotional consequences of particular causal attributions (Weiner, 1986). For example, attributing failure to an internal uncontrollable factor such as lack of aptitude may trigger feelings of shame,

embarrassment or humiliation. On the other hand, attributing failure to an internal controllable factor such as lack of effort may evoke feelings of guilt. Most recently, mirroring the current growth of interest in emotion and moves towards more dynamic interactive perspectives on motivation, Weiner (2007) has focused attention on the attributional processes of others (teachers, peers) vis-à-vis a person's performance, and their emotional consequences (e.g. sympathy, envy, admiration, anger), and how these interact with and affect the person's own self-perceptions and motivation.

Self-efficacy theory has been developed by Albert Bandura and it refers to people's judgement of their capabilities to carry out certain specific tasks and, accordingly, their sense of efficacy will determine choice of activities attempted, along with level of aspiration, amount of effort exerted and persistence displayed. People with a low sense of self-efficacy in a given domain perceive difficult tasks as personal threats; they dwell on their own personal deficiencies and the obstacles they encounter rather than concentrate on how to perform the task successfully. Consequently, they easily lose faith in their capabilities and are likely to give up. In contrast, a strong sense of self-efficacy enhances people's achievement behaviour by helping them to approach threatening situations with confidence, to maintain a task- rather than self-diagnostic focus during task involvement, and to heighten and sustain effort in the face of failure.

Quote 2.1 Bandura on self-efficacy beliefs

Efficacy beliefs are the foundation of human agency. Unless people believe that they can produce desired results and forestall detrimental ones by their actions, they have little incentive to act or to persevere in the face of difficulties. Whatever other factors may operate as guides and motivators, they are rooted in the core belief that one has the power to produce effects by one's actions.

Bandura (2001: 10)

It is important to note that self-efficacy beliefs are only indirectly related to actual competence and abilities because they are the product of a complex process of self-persuasion that is based on cognitive processing of diverse sources (e.g. other people's opinions, feedback, evaluation, encouragement or reinforcement; past experiences and

training; observing peers; information about appropriate task strategies). Theoretically, the construct of self-efficacy is thus associated with social learning theory, developed by Bandura (1986) as social cognitive theory, which describes learning in terms of the interrelationships between personal, behavioural and environmental or social factors. In his more recent writing, Bandura (e.g. 2001, 2004) extends the notion of self-efficacy to the collective efficacy of groups (e.g. families, communities, social institutions) working together towards a common goal, thus reflecting parallel moves in the field towards the analysis of motivation as a socially distributed process. We shall come back to this perspective later in the chapter.

According to Covington's (1992) *self-worth theory*, people are highly motivated to maintain a fundamental sense of personal value and worth, especially in the face of competition, failure and negative feedback. This basic need for self-worth generates a number of unique patterns of motivational beliefs and face-saving behaviours in school settings, particularly when potentially poor performance imposes a threat to the student's self-esteem. In such situations students may actually stand to gain by not trying, that is, by deliberately withholding effort or engaging in self-handicapping or defensive strategies (Rhodewalt and Vohs, 2007), because this would allow failure to be attributed to lack of effort rather than to low ability (for similar L2-related phenomena, see Breen et al., 2001). An example of this is when a learner spends insufficient time preparing for a test so that in the case of failure he or she can use the lack of sufficient striving as a mitigating excuse for poor performance, rather than have to admit a lack of competence, which would be far more damaging for the student's self-concept.

Self-worth theory highlights the critical importance of a person's sense of ability or competence in shaping motivation in educational or other achievement settings. Perceived competence or ability is likewise a core feature of attributional processes and self-efficacy beliefs. Very recently, there has been a major push towards refocusing the achievement motivation framework around the concept of 'competence', with the publication of 35 papers by leading achievement motivation researchers in a collected volume entitled *Handbook of Competence and Motivation* (Elliot and Dweck, 2007a). As Elliot and Dweck (2007b: 9) explain in their introduction to the volume, there are strong arguments for replacing the term 'achievement motivation' with 'competence motivation'. Chief among these is the problem of establishing a clear conceptual definition of 'achievement', with the tendency to rely on a rather vague lay understanding of the term narrowly restricted to

individual accomplishment within the domains of school, sports and work. Elliot and Dweck state that, as a result, the achievement motivation literature lacks conceptual rigour and at the same time remains somewhat isolated from other potentially relevant domains of enquiry such as creativity, social comparison and self-regulated learning. In contrast, they argue that the term 'competence' has a precise meaning, is a rich and profound psychological concept, is ubiquitous in daily life, has a substantial impact on emotion and well-being, and is operative across the lifespan and across cultural boundaries (Elliot and Dweck, 2007b: 6–8).

Quote 2.2 Elliot and Dweck on the problem of defining 'achievement'

In essence, what is commonly referred to as the 'achievement motivation literature' represents a rather loose compendium of theoretical and empirical work focused on a colloquial understanding of the term 'achievement'. We suggest that for the achievement motivation literature to flourish, it is important to delineate its conceptual core carefully and precisely. We seek to do so by proposing that competence be considered the conceptual core of the achievement motivation literature.

Elliot and Dweck (2007b: 5)

Task value

As noted earlier, most theorists using expectancy-value models have tended to focus on the expectancy component. The value component (also labelled as 'valence', 'incentive value', 'attainment value', 'task value' and 'achievement task value' by various researchers) has been less extensively theorised, with most of the work in this area attributable to two scholars in particular, Jacquelynne Eccles and Allan Wigfield (e.g. Eccles, 2007; Wigfield and Eccles, 2000). They developed a comprehensive model of task values, defining them in terms of four components (see also Brophy, 1999, for an education-specific discussion):

- *attainment value*, that is, the personal importance of mastering a skill and doing well on a task;
- *intrinsic value*, that is, interest in or aesthetic appreciation of the subject/skills in question, and enjoyment coming from performing the activity;

- *extrinsic utility value*, that is, awareness of how well a task relates to current and future goals and what role learning plays in improving the quality of one's life or making one a better person;
- *cost*, that is, the negative value component, including factors such as expended effort and time, other actions that the planned action would exclude, and various emotional costs such as anxiety and fear of failure.

The overall achievement value of a task is made up of the interplay of these four components, and this value is believed to determine the strength of intensity of the behaviour. Recently, growing interest in the temporal dimension of motivation, and in particular future time perspectives, has begun to emphasise the importance of the utility value of tasks – that is, the extent to which students are able to perceive a clear instrumental relationship between current academic tasks and the attainment of personally valued long-term goals (e.g. McInerney, 2004; Miller and Brickman, 2004). This brings us to consider a major related area in motivational psychology revolving around goals and goal theories.

Quote 2.3 Brophy on an alternative conception of the value of learning

Neither intrinsic motivation concepts (fun, enjoyment), nor extrinsic motivation concepts (perform specific behaviors in order to earn anticipated rewards), nor even relatively specific or focused forms of utility value concepts (major in biology and work hard to get good grades to ensure entrance into medical school) satisfactorily construe the potential benefits derivable from learning the most powerful ideas and important intellectual skills taught in school. These benefits of education are better described using terms such as enrichment, enablement, and empowerment.

Brophy (2008: 40)

2.1.2   Goal theories

The cognitive concept of 'goal' has largely replaced earlier concepts of 'needs' or 'drives' as the factor providing the impetus for and direction of motivated action. During the past two decades, research attention has focused in particular on three key areas:

- *goal-setting,*
- *goal-orientation,*
- *goal content and multiplicity.*

Goal-setting theory

Locke and Latham's (1990) *goal-setting theory* seeks to explain differences in performance among individuals in terms of differences in goal attributes. There are three particularly important areas where goals may differ: *specificity*, *difficulty* and *goal commitment*. Goal-setting theory is compatible with expectancy-value theories (Section 2.1.1) in that commitment is seen to be enhanced when people believe that achieving the goal is possible (cf. expectancy) and important (cf. task value). Locke (1996) summarises the main findings of past research under five points:

1. The more difficult the goal, the greater the achievement.
2. The more specific or explicit the goal, the more precisely performance is regulated.
3. Goals that are both specific and difficult lead to the highest performance.
4. Commitment to goals is most critical when goals are specific and difficult (i.e. when goals are easy or vague it is not hard to get commitment because it does not require much dedication to reach easy goals, and vague goals can be easily redefined to accommodate low performance).
5. High commitment to goals is attained when (a) the individual is convinced that the goal is important; and (b) the individual is convinced that the goal is attainable (or that, at least, progress can be made towards it).

Although Locke and Latham's theory was developed in the context of organisational and work settings, it has been applied to educational settings (e.g. Pintrich and Schunk, 2002: 165–169), with much emphasis on the role of *proximal* goal-setting (see Concept 2.4) in promoting self-efficacy, intrinsic motivation and self-regulation of learning (Bandura and Schunk, 1981; see also Boekaerts et al., 2005; Schunk and Zimmerman, 2008). As noted earlier in relation to task value, moreover, there is now increasing interest in models of motivation that

incorporate time perspectives – that is, individuals' understanding of their psychological past, present and future (Kauffman and Husman, 2004). In particular, there is a growing body of theory that examines how people's conceptions of the future (e.g. in terms of personal goals or visions of themselves) influence their motivation in the present, and shape the degree to which they perceive proximal goals as instrumental to personally valued distal goals or indeed create proximal guides for courses of action that will lead to distal attainments (e.g. Miller and Brickman, 2004; Simons et al. 2004). As we shall see later in Chapter 4, this role of visualising the future is a major dimension of current theories of language learning motivation.

Concept 2.4   **Proximal versus distal goals**

It is important to note that goals are not only outcomes to shoot for but also standards by which to evaluate one's performance providing a definition of success. Thus, in the case of long-lasting, continuous activities such as language learning where there is only a rather *distal goal* of task completion (i.e. mastering the L2), the setting of *proximal subgoals* (e.g. taking tests, passing exams, satisfying learning contracts) may have a powerful motivating function in that they mark progress and provide immediate incentive and feedback. Attainable proximal subgoals can also serve as an important vehicle in the development of the students' self-efficacy.

Goal-orientation theory

Unlike goal-setting theory, which was originally applied to motivation in the workplace, *goal-orientation theory* was specially developed to explain children's learning and performance in schools settings. As Ames (1992) summarises, the theory highlights two contrasting achievement goal constructs or orientations that students can adopt towards their academic work:

- *mastery orientation*, involving the pursuit of 'mastery goals' (also labelled as 'task-involvement goals' or 'learning goals') with the focus on learning the content;
- *performance orientation*, involving the pursuit of 'performance goals' (or 'ego-involvement goals') with the focus on demonstrating ability, getting good grades or outdoing other students.

Thus, mastery and performance goals represent different success criteria and different reasons for engaging in achievement activity. Central to a mastery goal is the belief that effort will lead to success and the emphasis is on one's own improvement and growth. In contrast, a performance orientation views learning merely as a way to achieve a goal and the accompanying public recognition. More recently, Linnenbrink (2005; see also Linnenbrink and Pintrich, 2001) has proposed that each goal type may be regarded as having an approach or avoidance focus, thus yielding four goal orientations. Furthermore, she argues that it is important to consider interactions between students' personal goal orientations and the kinds of pedagogical context (whether mastery or performance focused) in which they find themselves and how they perceive this context.

Goal content and multiplicity

While goal-setting theory and goal-orientation theory are concerned primarily with individual performance and achievement, it is always possible that student motivation may also be shaped by goals which are not focused on academic performance, achievement or competence. Drawing on Ford's (1992) earlier work on goal content, Wentzel (2000, 2007) has led research on exploring students' cognitive representations of what they are trying to achieve (i.e. the content of their goals) in a given classroom situation. For example, they may be trying to learn, make friends or maintain solidarity with peers, please the teacher, avoid punishment or conform to classroom rules. Her work provides valuable insights into how students' academic accomplishments are influenced by the integrated contribution of multiple social and academic goals, and in particular how the pursuit of non-academic forms of competence such as social competence may interact positively with the development of academic competence.

Wentzel's work has stimulated research interest in exploring social goals and multiple goals in educational settings (e.g. Horst et al. 2006) and has drawn attention to the important role of social and emotional well-being in motivating learning, thereby mirroring the current trend towards integrating emotions into models of motivation (Section 1.1.1). Moreover, the focus on the social context of goal development reflects the growing importance of dynamic and socially situated perspectives on motivation in current theory (Section 1.1.3), since goals are 'socially derived constructs that cannot be studied in isolation of the rules and conventions of culture and context' (Wentzel, 2000: 106).

> **Quote 2.4** Wentzel on the interaction of social and academic goals
>
> The bulk of evidence supports a model in which clear expectations and opportunities for academic goal pursuit, instrumental help, safety and responsivity, and emotional support represent provisions of positive peer relationships that support students' pursuit of academic goals and subsequent academic achievements.
>
> Wentzel (2007: 292)

2.1.3   Self-determination theory

One of the most general and well-known distinctions in motivation theories is that of *intrinsic* versus *extrinsic* motivation. The first type of motivation (IM) deals with behaviour performed for its own sake in order to experience pleasure and satisfaction, such as the joys of doing a particular activity or satisfying one's curiosity. The second (EM) involves performing a behaviour as a means to some separable end, such as receiving an extrinsic reward (e.g. good grades) or avoiding punishment. There is also a third type of motivation, *amotivation* (AM), which refers to the lack of any kind of motivation, whether intrinsic or extrinsic.

Vallerand (1997; Vallerand and Ratelle, 2002) developed a hierarchical model of intrinsic and extrinsic motivation integrating multidimensional perspectives from the extensive literature in this area. The model proposes that all three kinds of motivation (IM, EM, AM) are represented within the individual at three hierarchical levels of generality:

- *the global level* (representing a general orientation to interact with the environment in an intrinsic, extrinsic or amotivated fashion);
- *the contextual level* (representing engagement in particular spheres of human activity such as education, leisure, interpersonal relations);
- *the situational level* (representing engagement in specific activities at a particular time).

The model also posits three subtypes of intrinsic motivation:

- *to learn* (engaging in an activity for the pleasure and satisfaction of understanding something new, satisfying one's curiosity and exploring the world);

- *towards achievement* (engaging in an activity for the satisfaction of surpassing oneself, coping with challenges and accomplishing or creating something);
- *to experience stimulation* (engaging in an activity to experience pleasant sensations).

Extrinsic motivation has traditionally been seen as something that can undermine intrinsic motivation: several studies have confirmed that students will lose their natural intrinsic interest in an activity if they have to do it to meet some extrinsic requirement (e.g. Lepper and Greene, 1978). Not all studies, however, have found a negative relationship between the two forms of motivation, leading Deci and Ryan (1985; see also Ryan and Deci, 2000) to replace the intrinsic/extrinsic dichotomy with a more elaborate construct following the main principles of what they called *self-determination theory* (SDT). According to SDT, extrinsic forms of motivation can be placed on a continuum representing different degrees of external control or internal regulation (self-determination), depending on how internalised these extrinsic goals are (see Concept 2.5). Extrinsic goals that are fully internalised within the person's self-concept (e.g. the personal value of being able to speak a particular language) may thus co-exist with intrinsic regulation of motivation (e.g. enjoyment of learning the language).

Concept 2.5   **Four types of extrinsic motivation**

1. *External regulation* refers to the least self-determined form of extrinsic motivation, coming entirely from external sources such as rewards or threats (e.g. teacher's praise or parental confrontation).
2. *Introjected regulation* involves externally imposed rules that the student accepts as norms to be followed in order not to feel guilty (e.g. rules against playing truant).
3. *Identified regulation* occurs when the person engages in an activity because he or she highly values and identifies with the behaviour, and sees its usefulness (e.g. learning a language which is necessary to pursue one's hobbies or interests).
4. *Integrated regulation* is the most developmentally advanced form of extrinsic motivation, involving choiceful behaviour that is fully assimilated with the individual's other values, needs and identity (e.g. learning English because proficiency in it is part of an educated cosmopolitan culture one has adopted).

SDT has generated a rich programme of research on motivation in different areas of life (e.g. parenting, education, sport, healthcare, organisational management, clinical psychology) where individuals are typically in what Deci and Flaste (1996: 8) call 'one-up/one-down' hierarchical relationships such as parent/child, teacher/student, coach/team, doctor/patient (for a collection of recent research studies, see Deci and Ryan, 2002). Within these hierarchical relationships, SDT's central notion of a continuum of self-determination focuses attention on how motivation for externally defined goals and behaviours may be socialised and gradually internalised. A consistent finding has been that people will be more self-determined in performing a particular behaviour to the extent that the social environment supports the following fundamental human needs:

- *autonomy* (i.e. experiencing oneself as the origin of one's behaviour),
- *competence* (i.e. feeling efficacious and having a sense of accomplishment),
- *relatedness* (i.e. feeling close to and connected to other individuals).

As with Bandura's (1986, 2001) social cognitive theory and Wentzel's (2000, 2007) work on social goals, SDT thus also underlines the significant role of social processes and influences in shaping motivation. Within the past decade or so, socio-contextual factors have moved increasingly centre-stage in the analysis of motivation and have begun to push the boundaries of the cognitive tradition in exciting ways. We now turn to examine this major current dimension of motivation theory.

2.2 Motivation and context

Human action is always embedded in a number of physical and psychological settings of varying breadth and abstraction, and central to the recent social turn in motivation research has been the growing recognition that all these environmental dimensions have a certain amount of influence on one's cognition, behaviour and achievement. As Järvelä (2001: 5) notes, this is a trend that is consistent across all research in psychology and education (see also Anderman and Anderman, 2000). Consequently, recent accounts of motivation and other related psychological constructs (such as identity, self-esteem or self-efficacy) have increasingly abandoned the tacit assumption of environmental generalisability and included contextual factors (e.g.

classroom setting, cross-cultural differences) as independent variables into the research paradigms (e.g. Salili et al., 2001; McInerney, 2008). However, instead of conceptualising social context as simply another variable that influences individual motivation, there is also now a growing body of thinking that frames motivation-in-context as a dual individual and social phenomenon, thus integrating motivation and context in a dynamic and holistic way (e.g. Hickey and Granade, 2004; McCaslin, 2004; Volet and Järvelä, 2001). In the following, we will first consider 'context as variable' perspectives, and then examine contemporary perspectives on integrating motivation and context.

2.2.1   Contextual influences on motivation

Among contextual influences on learning motivation, the two areas that have perhaps garnered most attention are:

- features of the *instructional context* (e.g. task and materials design, evaluation practices, grouping structures);
- *social and cultural influences* (e.g. teachers, peer group, school, family, culture and society).

Features of the instructional context

While social and cultural influences on motivation are likely to develop and operate over a sustained period of a student's learning experience, motivation in the short-term may be influenced by specific features of the instructional context such as task and materials design, or evaluation practices and grouping structures.

In relation to *task and materials design*, research attention has typically focused on identifying those features which promote intrinsic motivation and a mastery orientation by stimulating interest and offering an optimal or moderate level of challenge (Pintrich and Schunk, 2002). This raises the question as to whether interest is a characteristic of the person (i.e. an individual disposition towards particular types of tasks or topics); or an inherent characteristic of the task or context (i.e. its interestingness); or a psychological state that emerges when a person engages in a task and either actualises individual interest or experiences situational interest (Hidi and Ainley, 2008; Krapp, 2002). Where the design of pedagogical materials is concerned, the analysis of task features which may stimulate interest and learning has received particular attention within the field of instructional design (Cheng and Yeh, 2008; Reiser and Dempsey, 2006), particularly in relation to educational technology and the kinds of tools and affordances it can offer to engage

student interest and learning (Corno and Mandinach, 2004). (We will revisit the concept of interest in Section 4.3.2 when we discuss motivational conglomerates within a dynamic systems framework.)

Evaluation practices and *grouping structures* are also likely to influence student motivation in terms of the kinds of learning goal they promote and the extent to which they emphasise normative evaluation (Ames, 1992; Dweck, 1999; Webb and Palincsar, 1996). While the common educational practice of tracking (or ability grouping or streaming) children based on academic abilities makes such normative evaluation obvious, within-class grouping structures can affect student motivation in subtler ways by providing cues that inform students about their capabilities (Pintrich and Schunk, 2002). Three types of classroom structure usually identified are:

- competitive (where the focus is on how students perform relative to one another);
- individualistic (where the focus is on individual learning goals);
- cooperative (where students work together to achieve a shared goal).

Research suggests that while high achievers may thrive in competitive classroom structures, the motivational consequences for low achievers may be detrimental, leading to poor self-esteem, disaffection or learned helplessness (Dweck, 1999; Peterson et al., 1993). Individualistic structures, on the other hand, are more likely to shape motivation towards personal progress and mastery and promote self-efficacy, while successful cooperative learning is likely to generate motivation and self-efficacy among all members of the group (see Concept 2.6).

Concept 2.6   **Cooperative learning and motivation**

A prominent aspect of group motivation concerns the unique motivational setup of *cooperative learning*, which is a generic name for a number of related methods of organising classroom instruction in order to achieve common learning goals via cooperation. In a cooperatively organised classroom, students work in small groups in which each member shares responsibility for the outcome and is equally rewarded (which can be contrasted to a 'competitive' structure in which students work against each other and only the best ones are rewarded). In many ways, cooperative learning can also be seen as a philosophy that *maximises student collaboration*, and investigations have almost invariably proved that this approach is superior to most traditional forms of instruction in terms of producing learning gains and student achievement. Cooperative learning has been shown to generate a powerful *motivational system* to

energise learning; for example, Sharan and Shaulov (1990) found in a large-scale study that more than half of the variance in student achievement in three academic subjects was caused by the 'motivation to learn' variable, which is a substantial impact rarely demonstrated in motivation studies in general. This strong motivational effect is the result of a number of different motives coming into force in cooperatively organised classrooms (see Dörnyei, 1997; Slavin, 1996), and it provides unambiguous evidence that if a number of individuals form a social unit by joining in a group, under certain conditions the motivational level associated with this collection of people can significantly exceed the motivational level the individuals would have demonstrated if they had remained independent.

Social and cultural influences

While cooperative learning particularly highlights the social dynamics of classroom motivation, the study of student motivation in general is fertile ground for analysing social motivation, because for average school students, 'school' represents primarily a social arena and not the scene of academic work. As we noted earlier in relation to Wentzel's (2000, 2007) work on social versus academic goals, student motivation lends itself to analysis from multiple perspectives with a strong social emphasis (see also Juvonen and Wentzel, 1996). The main themes in this vein include the motivational influence of teachers, peer groups and the whole school ethos on the one hand, and on the other the impact of parents and family as well as the broader society and culture. Let us take a brief look at these factors one by one.

Teachers naturally act as key social figures who affect the motivational quality of the learning process in positive or negative ways. The focus in research on the motivational impact of teachers has traditionally been on trying to distil the unique characteristics or traits that distinguish successful practitioners from unsuccessful ones. However, these 'trait approaches' have by and large proved inconclusive because motivational effectiveness appears to be determined by an interplay of several broad factors (related to the teacher's personality, attitudes, enthusiasm, distance or immediacy, professional knowledge/skills, and classroom management style), whose various combinations can be equally effective (Eggen and Kauchak, 2007). The role of teachers in engaging students in the learning process is clearly complex and multidimensional, since it concerns almost all academic and social aspects of the classroom environment (Kubanyiova, 2006). In effect, everything teachers say or do and how they communicate and behave

in the classroom may potentially influence student motivation in different ways. In Chapter 5, we will look in more detail at effective teacher practices, behaviours and strategies to promote and support student motivation.

Peer groups may also exert a powerful influence on individual motivation, especially among young adolescent learners since adolescence is a period when peer relations take on increasing significance over parental influence and relations, when students often experience transitions to new school environments and social networks, and when processes of identity and self-concept formation are shaped (Berndt and Keefe, 1995). Peer influence on student motivation is often portrayed negatively in terms of social comparison and the development of self-conscious emotions in performing in front of peers (Lewis and Sullivan, 2007); or of underachievement and the 'norm of mediocrity' in response to the prevailing peer group culture (Graham, 2001; McCaslin and Good, 1996); or of more serious behavioural consequences such as disaffection, classroom countercultures and school dropout (Hymel et al., 1996). However, as Wigfield and Wagner (2007: 224) note, there is plenty of research evidence to suggest that peers often gravitate to similar others and strengthen one another's motivational orientations, and where these motivational orientations are learning or achievement focused, the effects of such social influence can be very positive.

Schools as a whole may also play an important role in socialising student motivation, depending on the kinds of ethos they promote. In a pioneering article, Maehr and Midgley (1991) have argued that schools vary in their general climate and policies, for example in terms of:

- school-wide stress on accomplishment,
- general expectations regarding student potential,
- school-level authority and management structures,
- the teachers' sense of efficacy,
- grouping practices,
- evaluation practices,
- promoting ability tracking.

This variation influences the motivation of both teachers and students in a fundamental way. As Pintrich and Schunk (2002) point out, a focus on schools as the unit of analysis has not been adopted by many psychologists interested in motivation, given their disciplinary focus on individual cognition and behaviour (though see the recent collection of studies in Pintrich and Maehr, 2004). Much of the work on

school-level analysis derives instead from other traditions of enquiry such as the sociology of education or organisational culture (Maehr and Yamaguchi, 2001). However, with current moves towards more contextually-oriented accounts of motivation, there is a push to broaden the unit of analysis through sociocultural models of learning that consider how individual motivation is entwined with the school culture in which it unfolds (Perry and Winne, 2004). We will return to this perspective in Section 2.2.2.

In addition, *parental and family* influences on motivation are of considerable importance, particularly during the developmental stages of education. Educational psychologists have long recognised that various family characteristics and practices are linked with school achievement (for a comparative review of American and East Asian parenting, see Pomerantz et al., 2008), and one of the central mediators between family and school is generally thought to be motivation (Gottfried et al., 1994). As Eccles et al. (1998) summarise, four parenting factors have been traditionally identified as significantly shaping student motivation:

- developmentally appropriate timing of achievement demands/ pressure;
- high confidence in one's children's abilities;
- a supportive affective family climate;
- highly motivated role models.

Again, in parallel with contemporary perspectives on the dynamic relationship between context and motivation, current analyses of family and parental influence draw attention to the bidirectional nature of the socialisation process between parents and children, as well as interactions with multiple socio-contextual forces (Pomerantz et al., 2007).

Quote 2.5 Pomerantz, Grolnick and Price on the bidirectional nature of parent–child influences

In accordance with dynamic perspectives of socialization, research suggests that both the characteristics children bring to their interactions with their parents, and the social context in which these interactions take place, influence the role of parents in children's approach to achievement. . . . It will be key for future research to identify . . . characteristics of children that moderate the role of parents in how children approach achievement.

Pomerantz et al. (2007: 271)

Finally, the wider influence of *culture and society* on individual motivation has been receiving increasing attention, with the growth of cross-cultural psychology and the study of culturally specific motivational orientations, values and socialisation practices. In relation to motivation, the analysis of cultural and societal influences has usually focused on the motivational characteristics of students from particular ethnic groups (e.g. Graham and Hudley, 2007; Grant and Dweck, 2001; van Laar, 2001), or from particular socioeconomic groups (e.g. Brooks-Gunn et al., 2007). A key tenet in motivation studies adopting a cross-cultural perspective is the widespread assumption that setting-specific cultural values mediate achievement cognition and behaviour. Sociocultural values can be conceived as normative beliefs about what is right or wrong in thought and action that are shared by most members of a given cultural or social group (Phalet and Lens, 1995). One oft-cited finding, for example, is that Chinese students, parents and teachers are more likely to attribute student performance outcomes to effort rather than ability, compared with their western counterparts, since Chinese Confucian culture places particular value on hard work and perseverance (Hong, 2001).

However, a risk of this kind of approach is that it may lead to cultural stereotyping or essentialisation, whereby all members of a particular cultural or social group are ascribed certain motivational tendencies. This risk is especially acute when such groups are defined in rather broad terms such as East Asians, or western versus eastern cultures, or individualist versus collectivist cultures, while losing sight of motivational difference, uniqueness and variability at the level of local or 'small' cultures (Holliday, 1999). Moreover, in the current postmodern world of globalisation, migration and multiculturalism where people may belong to or move between multiple ethnic, social and cultural communities, cultural boundaries and identities are far from easy to define in a clear-cut sense (Pavlenko, 2002). Thus, instead of viewing motivational characteristics as broadly culturally determined, an alternative perspective is to consider a more dynamic and integrative relationship between people and their sociocultural environment. This is very much the direction of contemporary thinking.

2.2.2 Integrating motivation and context: contemporary perspectives

As Järvelä (2001) notes, with its longstanding historical roots in experimental and psychometric research, motivation theory has been slow to

adopt contextual paradigms. Within the 'context as variable' perspectives that we have just examined, contexts are conceptualised as external factors that influence individual motivation. However, contemporary situative perspectives on motivation challenge researchers to integrate the notions of self and context in a dynamic and holistic way to explore how motivation develops and emerges through the complex interactions between self and context. This calls for alternative theoretical frameworks to the traditional computational models that have characterised cognitive approaches (such as the expectancy-value framework), since 'context' is not simply an independent background variable separate from the individual but rather the individual is also an integral part of and actively contributes to the developing context (Ushioda, 2009). In other words, context is conceived not in static terms but as a developing process, while the relationship between individuals and context is that of complex and dynamic organic systems emerging and evolving over time.

Inevitably, attempting to capture and integrate these complexities in a coherent conceptual framework brings the challenge of motivational theorising to a whole new level (cf. Section 1.3). Not surprisingly, perhaps, no single theoretical approach currently dominates contemporary situative perspectives on motivation, and most researchers working in the area recognise the need instead to adopt multiple levels of analysis and multidimensional theoretical perspectives (Volet, 2001). In what follows, we will examine three major situative perspectives that are representative of the thinking currently shaping the field, namely:

- insights from sociocultural theory,
- self-regulatory perspectives,
- complex dynamic systems approaches.

Quote 2.6 Volet on situative motivation perspectives

Researching situated motivation implies locating goals and engagement in the dynamic activities of social systems or communities of learners, where individuals mutually influence each other and where the construction of motivational meanings reflects individuals' motivational beliefs, prior experiences and subjective appraisals of the affordances and constraints of the current situation . . .

Volet (2001: 319)

Insights from sociocultural theory

One theoretical label that is often used to characterise contemporary perspectives on integrating motivation and context is *sociocultural*. However, the term needs to be treated with caution since in many cases it is used simply to refer to sociocultural influences on individual motivation, in the sense of social or cultural background variables or factors (cf. Section 2.2.1). As Hickey and Granade (2004) point out, this sense of the term is rather different from their concern with how theories of human cognition and learning deriving from Vygotskian *sociocultural theory* may illuminate current situative perspectives on motivation. It is in this latter, more specific sense that we also apply the term here.

Sociocultural theory derives from the work of the Russian psychologist Lev Vygotsky (1962, 1978) and has grown to have a major influence on thinking in developmental and educational psychology (for an L2-specific review, see Lantolf and Thorne, 2006). Central to Vygotsky's sociocultural theory of mind is the principle that higher order cognitive functions are internalised from social interaction with more competent others (Vygotsky, 1978). Thus, for example, the child learns to do jigsaw puzzles through the social experience of doing jigsaw puzzles with older siblings or parents. Learning takes place through participation in cultural systems of activity, and knowledge itself is viewed as a cultural entity distributed across the environment where that knowledge is developed and deployed, embodied in physical tools (e.g. hammers, rulers, computers), social tools (e.g. people, classrooms) or symbolic tools (e.g. language, mathematical or musical notation). Successful participation, or learning, thus entails deploying such cultural tools to overcome the limitations of the individual mind and mediate higher order thinking and construction of knowledge – or what Perkins (1993) has called a 'person-plus' distributed view of thinking and learning (Ushioda, 2007).

As Ushioda (2007) explains, while sociocultural theory is essentially a theory of learning, it has recently begun to inform approaches to understanding motivation as a socially mediated and culturally situated phenomenon. Bronson (2000) utilises the theory to draw a distinction between the intrinsic motivation to learn and regulate one's actions, and the socialisation of motivation for culturally constructed goals and activities, such as reading and writing. Viewed thus, motivation, like knowledge, is not located solely within the individual, but is socially distributed, created within cultural systems of activities involving the mediation of others (Rueda and Moll, 1994).

Motivation researchers who draw on sociocultural theory characterise motivation as a fundamentally sociohistorically situated process, emergent through the interactions among participants, context and sociocultural activity (e.g. Hickey, 2003; Hickey and Granade, 2004; McCaslin, 2004; Turner, 2001). One feature of particular importance in these approaches, and which contrasts sharply with 'context as variable' perspectives, is the emphasis given to individuals' active participatory role in the shared construction of motivational goals, standards and values which they subsequently internalise (Hickey and Granade, 2004). In other words, individual motivation is not simply 'influenced by' sociocultural factors in the surrounding context, but the sociocultural context becomes attuned to the goals, standards and values of the collective participants who define that context and shape its practices. Sociocultural theory thus takes the view that people are not just products but also active producers of their own social and cultural environments.

Self-regulatory perspectives

In psychological research, the broad field of enquiry of *self-regulation* has focused attention on the dynamic interactions of person, context and process, and included motivational processes as a central theoretical concern. The field of enquiry has been strongly influenced by the work of Bandura (1977, 1986, 2001), who explained human functioning in terms of a dynamic triadic interaction between personal factors (cognition and affect), behaviour and environment. According to Bandura (2001), the environment does not act directly on human behaviour, since people are proactive, self-reflective and self-regulatory agents who have the capacity to make choices and action plans, give shape to appropriate courses of action, and to motivate and regulate their execution. However, self-regulation necessarily involves the interaction of the person with the environment, and these interactions are indeed critical to the self-regulation process.

Much work in the area of self-regulation is concerned with exploring these dynamic interactions between person and environment and how they shape the self-regulation of behaviour in different aspects of life such as health, personality, emotions, coping with addiction or stress, and of course academic learning – a major sub-field of self-regulation research that is usually termed *self-regulated learning* (Dinsmore et al., 2008; for a comprehensive overview of self-regulation theory and research,

see Boekaerts et al., 2005). In relation to self-regulated learning in particular, attention has focused on students' appraisals of, sensitivity to and exploitation of environmental factors, cues or 'affordances' (Gibson, 1979) as these unfold or present themselves in the classroom situation (Boekaerts, 2001; Corno, 2005; see also Schunk and Zimmerman, 2008). As Boekaerts (2001) explains, any domain-specific motivational knowledge base (e.g. attitudes, motives, self-efficacy beliefs) that a student brings to a learning situation (e.g. mathematics class) will interact with developing appraisals of situation-specific conditions and factors (e.g. difficulty of a particular task, being distracted by one's work partner). This interaction will possibly lead to motivational tensions and emotional states which need to be regulated in some way, through what Kuhl (1987, 2005) has called 'action control strategies' (see Concept 2.7).

However, it is important to emphasise the dynamic nature of the interaction between motivational self-regulation and environment. As Zeidner et al. (2005) note, when a person is self-regulating to achieve a set goal, that person's behaviour impacts upon the environment, which in turn becomes the input function used to further self-regulate behaviour. In short, self-regulation theory emphasises the reciprocal determinism in person-environment interactions and, like sociocultural theory, underlines the agency of the individual in responding to and also shaping the surrounding context.

Concept 2.7   **Kuhl's taxonomy of action control strategies**

1. *Selective attention*, that is, intentionally ignoring attractive alternatives or irrelevant aspects.

2. *Encoding control*, that is, selectively encoding only those features of a stimulus that are related to the current intention.

3. *Emotion control*, that is, the active inhibition of emotional states that may undermine the enacting and protection of the intention, as well as the conscious generation of emotions that are conducive to the implementation of the intention.

4. *Motivation control*, which is an active process of changing the hierarchy of tendency strengths when a more powerful alternative arises, for example, by focusing on what would happen if the original intention failed and by keeping in mind favourable expectancies or positive incentives.

5. *Environment control*, that is, manipulating the environment in a way that the resulting environmental (or social) pressure or control makes the abandoning of the intention more difficult (e.g. by making a social commitment or asking people not to allow one to do something), or by creating safeguards against undesirable environmental temptations (e.g. by removing objects that invite unwanted activities).

6. *Parsimony of information processing*, which essentially refers to a 'let's not think about it any more but get down to doing it' strategy, particularly if further processing may reveal information that undermines the motivational power of the current intention.

The move towards complex dynamic systems approaches

It will have become clear by now that as soon as we take 'context' seriously rather than paying it mere lip service, we run into trouble: issues that we may have been blissfully unaware of suddenly start causing major theoretical dilemmas and tensions. How do we, for example, account for the basic relationship between contextual factors and the individual? As we have seen in the previous sections, we have several options (cf. Nolen and Ward, 2008): We can emphasise *causative contextual influences* on the individual (e.g. the demotivating impact of a humiliating classroom experience) and thus imply the existence of distinct factors with clear-cut boundaries pushing and pulling each other in a linear manner. Or we can frame the relationship in terms of a *negotiation* or *co-construction process*, thus underscoring the shared responsibilities of members of a community in shaping both motivation and the social context in which motivation develops. Alternatively, we can adopt a broader 'socialisation-centred' lens and highlight the *internalisation process* of social phenomena by the developing child, thus achieving an attractive compromise whereby the origins of motivation are social but the outcome is individual.

We have also seen in Chapter 1 (in Section 1.1.3) the deep division amongst social psychologists concerning an individualistic versus societal perspective, and at the heart of this tension lies the question of how much importance we assign to individuals in the social world. Do we treat them as autonomous agents – as the self-regulatory perspective described above would suggest – or do we reduce the significance of their agency by assuming that their motivation is largely the function

of the social norms, values, meanings and identities that make up the sociocultural context? Nolen and Ward (2008) point out that situative researchers take individuals 'to be part and parcel of their social contexts, and social contexts to be activity systems, meaning systems, or figured worlds continually co-constructed and negotiated by their members' (p. 455), but we must realise that this characterisation leaves quite a bit of leeway in drawing up specific interpretations. Indeed, the authors themselves add that this 'does not imply that individuals cannot be studied or contrasted, only that such study must include an analysis of the meaning system or systems in which those individuals exist' (ibid.). We agree.

It was important to reiterate above the 'sociocultural maze' we find ourselves in when we pay attention to contextual issues, because complex dynamic systems approaches take this maze as a starting point and then add to it the dynamic conception of the individual's mental characteristics. This means that within this broad framework, motivation is seen as not only interrelated to a dynamically changing social environment external to the learner but also to learner-internal cognitive and affective attributes. This, of course, makes an already complex picture even more convoluted, and the only justification for this further complication is the assumption that this might indeed be the best way to represent what the world is really like (cf. Dörnyei, 2009c).

Proponents of such dynamic approaches (see e.g. Howe and Lewis, 2005; Nowak et al., 2005; van Geert and Steenbeek, 2005) believe that human behaviour is best conceived within a complex dynamic system where a great number of interrelated components affect the system's behaviour simultaneously. Because of the multiple interactions of the system constituents – which also involve environmental factors – the system is in constant flux, but the direction of the change cannot be ascribed to any single variable in isolation as it is the function of the overall state of the system. In later chapters (especially in Sections 4.3 and 9.4) we will elaborate on the main features of such complex systems – and especially the nonlinear development that characterises the changes within them – but here we would like to reiterate the fact that complex dynamic systems are in constant interaction with their environment, so much so that the context is seen as part of the system, with neither the internal development of the organism nor the impact of the environment given priority in explaining behaviour and its change. Equilibrium in this sense means a smooth, ongoing adaptation to contextual changes (Larsen-Freeman and Cameron, 2008a).

> **Quote 2.7** de Bot, Lowie and Verspoor on the language learner
> seen as a dynamic system
>
> [A] language learner is regarded as a dynamic subsystem within a social
> system with a great number of interacting internal dynamic sub-sub
> systems, which function within a multitude of other external dynamic
> systems. The learner has his/her own cognitive ecosystem consisting of
> intentionality, cognition, intelligence, motivation, aptitude, L1, L2 and so
> on. The cognitive ecosystem in turn is related to the degree of exposure
> to language, maturity, level of education, and so on, which in turn is
> related to the SOCIAL ECOSYSTEM, consisting of the environment with
> which the individual interacts.... Each of these internal and external sub-
> systems is similar in that they have the properties of a dynamic system.
> They will always be in flux and change, taking the current state of the
> system as input for the next one.
>
> Researching situated motivation implies locating goals and engagement
> in the dynamic activities of social systems or communities of learners,
> where individuals mutually influence each other and where the construc-
> tion of motivational meanings reflects individuals' motivational beliefs,
> prior experiences and subjective appraisals of the affordances and con-
> straints of the current situation...
>
> de Bot et al. (2007: 14)

Chapter 3

Motivation to learn a foreign/second language: a historical overview

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This chapter will...

- trace the historical evolution of theories of L2 motivation from the 1960s to the turn of the century;
- set the context for current developments and directions in L2 motivation theory.

Having considered theories of motivation in general, we turn now to our main focus in this book, the motivation to learn a second or foreign language. Although one might imagine language learning motivation to be easily subsumed within, and explained by, the mainstream theories of learning motivation reviewed in Chapter 2, it is important to state at the outset that the study of L2 motivation has evolved as a rich and largely independent research field, originating in a concern to address the unique social, psychological, behavioural and cultural complexities that acquiring a new communication code entails. In essence, the history of L2 motivation theory could be described as moving through phases reflecting increasing degrees of integration with mainstream theoretical perspectives and developments, while retaining a sharp focus on aspects of motivation unique to language learning. Dörnyei (2005) has identified the following three distinct phases:

1. *The social psychological period* (1959–1990) – characterised by the work of Robert Gardner and his associates in Canada.
2. *The cognitive-situated period* (during the 1990s) – characterised by work drawing on cognitive theories in educational psychology.

3. *The process-oriented period* (the turn of the century) – characterised by an interest in motivational change.

Our purpose in this chapter is to give a historical overview of these three phases. As we will explain at the end of this chapter, we now see the third phase – the process-oriented period – developing into (or perhaps merging with) a new phase which we will call the *socio-dynamic period* of L2 motivation theory. This new and exciting phase reflecting current thinking in the field will be the focus of Chapter 4.

3.1   The social psychological period

The modern field of L2 motivation research owes its origins to two social psychologists, Wallace Lambert and Robert Gardner, working in the bilingual social context of Canada. They saw second languages as mediating factors between different ethnolinguistic communities, and considered motivation to learn the language of the other community to be a primary force responsible for enhancing or hindering intercultural communication and affiliation. A key tenet of this approach is that individuals' attitudes towards the L2 and the L2 community, as well as their ethnocentric orientation in general, exert a directive influence on their L2 learning behaviour. These attitudinal dimensions distinguish language learning motivation from other types of learning motivation, since learners are expected not simply to acquire knowledge of the language (as they might acquire knowledge of history or biology), but to be willing 'to identify with members of another ethnolinguistic group and to take on very subtle aspects of their behaviour, including their distinctive style of speech and their language' (Gardner and Lambert, 1972: 135). Thus the study of L2 motivation was shaped from the beginning by a pioneering *social psychological perspective* implicating the social context of learning as well as attitudes and relations between different linguistic communities, which sharply differentiated this line of enquiry from mainstream individual-cognitive theories of motivation at the time. As we saw in Chapter 2, it was only much later that socio-contextual perspectives began to inform mainstream motivational psychology.

Within the field of SLA itself, Gardner and Lambert's work was also pioneering for highlighting non-cognitive (in their terminology, 'affective') factors – specifically motivation – as a *significant cause of variability in language learning success*. Hitherto the research focus had been

on cognitive factors such as ability or aptitude. Gardner and Lambert (1972) reasoned that cognitive factors and the availability of learning opportunities were insufficient explanations for individual variability in L2 achievement, and speculated that motivation had a significant causal role. Dating back to 1959, they published a series of studies investigating attitudes and motivation in L2 learning and their impact on L2 achievement, culminating in a seminal publication in 1972 that was to shape L2 motivation theory and research for the next two decades.

3.1.1   Key concepts of Gardner's theory of L2 motivation

According to Gardner (1985), L2 motivation comprises three components:

- *motivational intensity or effort*,
- *desire to learn the language*,
- *attitudes towards learning the language*.

In his view, 'motivation' refers to a kind of central mental 'engine' or 'energy-centre' that subsumes effort, want/will (cognition) and task-enjoyment (affect). Gardner argues that these three components belong together because the truly motivated individual displays all three. A key issue in Gardner's (1985) motivation theory is the relationship between *motivation* and *orientation* (which is Gardner's term for a 'goal'). The role of orientations is to help arouse motivation and direct it towards a set of goals. Although orientations are strictly speaking not part of 'motivation' but function merely as motivational antecedents, ironically it is two orientations labelled *integrative* and *instrumental* that have become the most widely known concepts associated with Gardner's work in the field (see Concept 3.1).

Concept 3.1   **Integrative and instrumental orientation**

- *Integrative orientation* concerns a positive disposition toward the L2 group and the desire to interact with and even become similar to valued members of that community; it was defined in Gardner and Lambert's (1959: 271) pioneering study as the 'willingness to be like valued members of the language community'.
- *Instrumental orientation* is the utilitarian counterpart of integrative orientation in Gardner's theory, pertaining to the potential pragmatic gains of L2 proficiency, such as getting a better job or a higher salary.
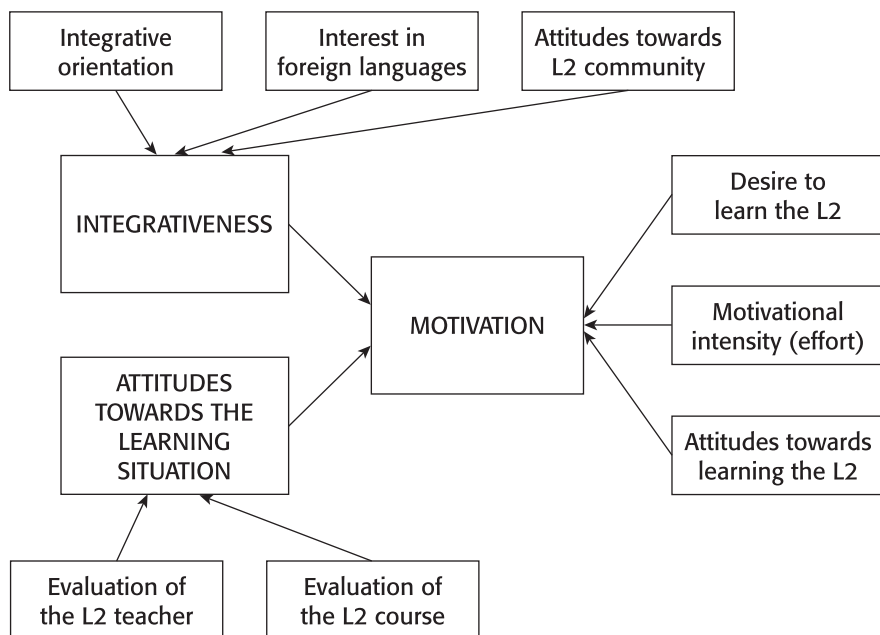
Figure 3.1   **Gardner's conceptualisation of the integrative motive**

Perhaps the most elaborate and researched aspect of Gardner's motivation theory has been the concept of the *integrative motive*, which is defined as a 'motivation to learn a second language because of positive feelings towards the community that speaks the language' (Gardner, 1985: 82–3). The integrative motive is a composite construct made up of three main components (see Figure 3.1 for a schematic representation; see also Gardner and MacIntyre, 1993a):

1. *Integrativeness*, which subsumes integrative orientation, interest in foreign languages, and attitudes towards the L2 community, reflecting the 'individual's willingness and interest in social interaction with members of other groups' (Gardner and MacIntyre, 1993b: 159).

2. *Attitudes towards the learning situation*, which comprises attitudes towards the language teacher and the L2 course.

3. *Motivation*, that is, effort, desire, and attitude towards learning.

Factor analytical studies examining data from samples in various parts of the world have again and again produced a factor made up of all, or many of, the above components, attesting to the fact that L2 motivation is generally associated with a positive outlook towards the L2 group and the values the L2 is linked with, regardless of the nature of the actual learning context. For example, in a large-scale nationwide

study in Hungary, a language-learning environment that is strikingly different from Canada in that it is largely monolingual and mono-cultural, and where foreign languages are taught primarily as a school subject with limited contact with L2 speakers, Dörnyei and Clément (2001) found integrativeness to be the most powerful general component of participants' generalised language-related disposition, determining language choice and the general level of effort students intended to invest in the learning process. However, the 'integrative' notion has also generated considerable critical debate over the years revolving around its conceptual definition and terminological confusion (e.g. Dörnyei, 1994b), and more recently as we will see later, its applicability to the learning of English in a globalised world.

3.1.2   Other social psychological concepts and theories

While it is the work of Gardner and his associates that centrally defines the 'social psychological' period of L2 motivation research, the period was also characterised by other strands of social psychological enquiry in contexts of contact between ethnolinguistic communities where L2 motivation plays a key role.

Clément's *concept of linguistic self-confidence* (Clément, 1980, 1986; Clément et al., 1977) is theorised to be a powerful mediating process in multi-ethnic settings that affects a person's motivation to learn and use the language of the other speech community. Clément and his associates provided evidence that in contexts where different language communities live together, the quality and quantity of *contact* between the members will be a major motivational factor in learning the other community's language, determining future desire for intercultural communication and the extent of identification with the L2 group. Thus, linguistic self-confidence in Clément's view is primarily a socially defined construct (in contrast to the cognitive nature of 'self-efficacy' in motivational psychology – Section 2.1.1), although self-confidence also has a cognitive component, the 'perceived L2 proficiency'. Clément et al. (1994) extended the applicability of the self-confidence construct by showing that it is also a significant motivational subsystem in foreign language learning situations where there is little direct contact with members of the L2 community, but considerable indirect contact with the L2 culture through the media.

Giles and Byrne's (1982) *intergroup model* offers a social psychological framework for examining the conditions under which members of minority ethnic groups in a multicultural setting successfully acquire and use the dominant language. Giles and Byrne adopted social

identification theory as their guiding framework, going back to Tajfel's conceptualisation of the *social identity* of an individual as 'consisting of those aspects of his self-image, positively or negatively valued, which derive from his membership of various social groups to which he belongs' (Tajfel, 1978: 443). According to Giles and Byrne's intergroup model, the extent to which members identify with their own ethnic in-group and perceive it to have strong ethnolinguistic vitality and hard in-group boundaries may determine the degree to which they acquire and exhibit target-like features of the majority language (see Concept 3.2). Ethnolinguistic vitality is determined by demographic representation, social status and institutional representation (e.g. in the media, government, education), while group boundaries refer to the relative ease or difficulty of individual mobility across different groups. Where in-group identification, ethnolinguistic vitality and boundaries are strong, members are likely to develop and adopt a second language code that diverges from the standard variety, characterised by, for example, non-standard accent and simplified grammar. On the other hand, where in-group identification, vitality and boundaries are weak, members are more likely to assimilate to the majority culture or group and develop a more target-like linguistic code.

Concept 3.2   **Conditions under which minority group members will be most likely to acquire nativelike proficiency in the dominant group's language (Giles and Byrne, 1982)**

1. Ingroup identification is weak and/or the L1 is not a salient dimension of the individual's ethnic group membership (i.e. the individual does not define himself or herself strongly as a member of a community with a prominent linguistic marker).

2. Quiescent interethnic comparisons exist (i.e. the individual does not suffer from an ethnic 'inferiority complex').

3. Perceived ingroup vitality is low (i.e. the ethnic group is not seen as having a high social status, is not too numerous, and has not obtained a high institutional profile).

4. Perceived ingroup boundaries are soft and open (i.e. the ethnic group is seen as culturally and linguistically related to the dominant group, and mobility between the ingroup and the outgroup is easy).

5. Strong identification exists with many other social categories, each of which provides adequate group identities and a satisfactory intragroup status (i.e. alternative group membership – professional, political, or religious – can compensate for the weakening of the ethnic belonging).

Schumann's (1978, 1986) *acculturation theory* similarly examines multi-ethnic settings from a minority perspective but focuses on the process of individual acculturation, that is, the 'social and psychological integration of the learner with the target language group' (1978: 29). The main tenet of his theory is that *social* and *psychological distance* between the language learner and target language speakers is detrimental to the attainment of the target language, since the learner will acquire the L2 only to the degree that he or she establishes social and psychological contact with the dominant group. As Gardner (1985: 137) points out, acculturation theory is essentially a model of 'language non-acquisition' in that it describes a number of factors that affect social and psychological distance and inhibit language acquisition. Such factors include patterns of dominance, cultural congruence and integration between minority and majority ethnic groups (social factors), and culture shock, intended length of residence and, of course, motivation (individual factors).

More recently, this line of enquiry focusing on acculturation, ethnolinguistic identity and language behaviours in multicultural settings has been further developed by Richard Clément, Kim Noels and their colleagues in Canada (e.g. Clément and Noels, 1992; Clément et al., 2001; Noels et al., 1996). Their objective was to create the foundations of a *situated identity theory*, highlighting the possibility that complex situational factors may mediate the effects of macro-processes at the societal level (i.e. linguistic assimilation/integration), and promote (if only temporarily) membership in groups defined along dimensions other than language. Situational contingencies may include, for example, the perception of ethnic threat, the relative minority/majority status of the speaker in the immediate communication setting, the private versus public facet of language use, strong normative pressures within the ethnic group, or the quality and quantity of contact with members of another ethnic group. This increased focus on situational factors affecting motivation and language learning and use reflected a general transition to more situated perspectives on L2 motivation during the 1990s, and it is to this next phase that we now turn.

> **Quote 3.1** Clément and Noels on the situational character of social identification
>
> The link between vitality and identification is . . . co-determined by a number of additional factors. Among others, it is entirely possible that situational factors may override the effects of social factors and promote, if

> only momentarily, membership in groups defined along dimensions other than language. . . . ethnolinguistic identity may thus best be seen as situationally bound, such that individuals slip in and out of particular group memberships as required by immediate contextual demands.
>
> Clément and Noels (1992: 205)

3.2 The cognitive-situated period

As we have seen, the social psychological period of L2 motivation research generated a wealth of literature through the 1970s and 1980s, shaped by a view of motivation conceived in the context of a cluster of social psychological variables implicated in language learning such as attitudes towards target language speakers and their culture, or feelings of identification with one's own ethnolinguistic community. In effect, as Skehan (1989) concluded in his review of this period, most writing on L2 motivation seemed to constitute a commentary on the agenda established by Gardner. At the same time, by the late 1980s and early 1990s, there was also a sense that the social psychological line of enquiry had perhaps run its course and that new and alternative research perspectives were needed to revitalise and refocus the L2 motivation field. This view was voiced independently by a number of scholars at the turn of the decade (e.g. Brown, 1990; Julkunen, 1989; Skehan, 1989), and led to the publication in 1991 of a seminal article by Crookes and Schmidt critiquing the social psychological tradition and calling for the motivation research agenda to be reopened. These voices heralded a shift in the 1990s towards what Dörnyei (2005) has subsequently called the *cognitive-situated period* of L2 motivation research. This period was characterised by two interrelated trends:

1. The need to bring language motivation research in line with the *cognitive* revolution in mainstream motivational psychology.
2. The desire to move from the broad perspective of ethnolinguistic communities and learners' general disposition and attitudes to language learning, and sharpen the focus on a more *situated* analysis of motivation in specific learning contexts.

In essence, these twin perspectives served to direct attention more closely to motivation in the classroom setting and to the concerns and needs of teachers for whom social psychological research on motivation

had little practical relevance. This latter argument was central to Crookes and Schmidt's (1991) trenchant critique of the Gardnerian tradition and their call for a more practitioner-validated concept of motivation shaped by insights from motivation research in education.

Quote 3.2 Crookes and Schmidt's call for a practitioner-validated concept of L2 motivation

Discussion of the topic of motivation in second-language (SL) learning contexts has been limited by the understanding the field of applied linguistics has attached to it. In that view, primary emphasis is placed on attitudes and other social psychological aspects of SL learning. This does not do full justice to the way SL teachers have used the term motivation. Their use is more congruent with definitions common outside social psychology, specifically in education.

Crookes and Schmidt (1991: 469)

However, it is important to note that the shift to more cognitive-situated perspectives through the 1990s was characterised more in terms of broadening the existing theoretical framework through integrating cognitive motivation concepts, rather than in terms of discarding social psychological perspectives altogether. This mood for expansion and integration is captured in a series of vibrant discussion papers and response articles published in *The Modern Language Journal* in 1994 embracing new directions and broader theoretical frameworks, with key contributions also from those working in the social psychological tradition (e.g. Dörnyei, 1994a, 1994b; Gardner and Tremblay, 1994a, 1994b; Oxford, 1994; Oxford and Shearin, 1994). In short, the cognitive-situated period represented a shift in focus rather than a rejection of the important social psychological dimension of language learning, which continues to engage attention today (see Concept 3.3).

Concept 3.3   **The educational shift in L2 motivation research**

The common theme underlying the new emerging educational orientation in the first half of the 1990s was the belief that motivational sources closely related to the learners' immediate classroom environment have a stronger impact on the overall L2 motivation complex than had been expected. Thus, there was a growing perception of the need to elaborate and extend motivation constructs not only to account for these situation-specific motives but also to render them more suitable for immediate

classroom application. In order to achieve this, scholars typically deviated from the traditional social psychological approach both in their goals and emphases, yet the significance of the broad sociocultural orientations and language attitudes advocated by Gardner and his Canadian associates was never questioned.

In general terms, expanding the theoretical framework entailed incorporating additional variables derived from cognitive theories of motivation. A prime example of this shift in thinking was offered by Tremblay and Gardner (1995): In response to calls for the 'adoption of a wider vision of motivation' (p. 505), the authors incorporated three concepts from expectancy-value (Section 2.1.1) and goal theories (Section 2.1.2) as mediating variables between attitudes and behaviour on the *language attitudes → motivational behaviour → achievement* sequence (Figure 3.2):
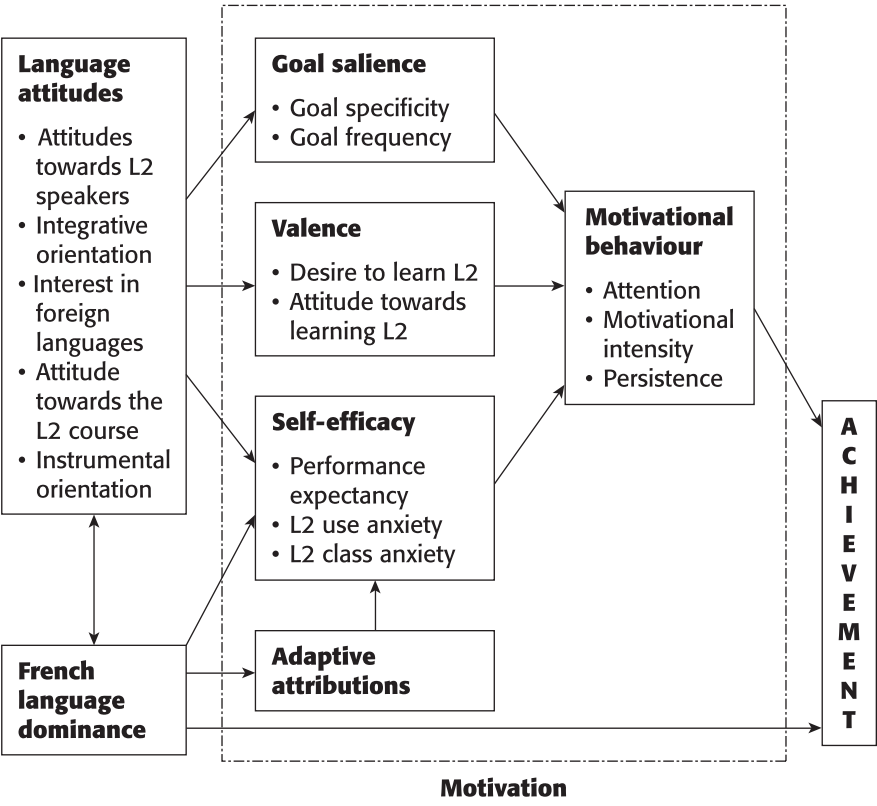

Figure 3.2   Tremblay and Gardner's (1995) model of L2 motivation

- *Goal salience*, referring to the specificity of the learner's goals and the frequency of goal-setting strategies used.
- *Valence*, subsuming the traditional scales of the 'desire to learn the L2' and 'attitudes towards learning the L2', thus denoting an L2-learning-related value component.
- *Self-efficacy*, comprising anxiety and 'performance expectancy' (the latter referring to the expectancy to be able to perform various language activities by the end of the course).

Thus, the cognitive-situated period saw the development of more complex and extended theoretical frameworks through the 1990s, many of them explicitly grounded in the classroom setting. At the same time, the cognitive-situated period saw developments in relation to particular theoretical perspectives (e.g. attribution theory, self-determination theory, autonomy theory) or learning situations (e.g. task motivation). In the subsections that follow, we will briefly review the development of these broader frameworks as well as the main areas of enquiry in this period.

3.2.1   Expanding the theoretical framework of L2 motivation

Crookes and Schmidt's (1991) position paper certainly set the agenda for broadening the theoretical framework of L2 motivation. It included a well-researched review of both the L2 and mainstream psychological literature of motivation with over 140 references, introducing the work of several prominent motivational psychologists for the first time in the L2 field. It rose to the challenge of addressing the eclectic and multi-faceted nature of L2 motivation by distinguishing between various levels of motivation and motivated learning (micro, classroom, syllabus/curriculum, and extracurricular levels), and thus highlighted several paths along which subsequent research could proceed. Drawing on Keller's (1983) comprehensive education-oriented theory of motivation and instructional design, the authors presented a parsimonious motivation framework made up of four components: interest, relevance, expectancy and satisfaction/outcomes (see Concept 3.4).

> Concept 3.4   **Keller's motivation system adopted by Crookes and Schmidt**
>
> Keller's (1983) four-component system that was adopted by Crookes and Schmidt is a prime example of a successful educational construct. It

draws together some of the most important lines of research in motivational psychology and synthesises them in a way that the outcome is relevant to and accessible for classroom application. The framework has four components:

1. *Interest* is related to intrinsic motivation and is centred around the individual's inherent curiosity and desire to know more about himself or herself and his or her environment.

2. *Relevance* refers to the extent to which the student feels that the instruction is connected to important personal needs, values, or goals. At a macro level, this component coincides with instrumentality; at the level of the learning situation, it refers to the extent to which the classroom instruction and course content are seen to be conducive to achieving the goal, that is, to mastering the L2.

3. *Expectancy* refers to the perceived likelihood of success and is related to the learner's self-confidence and self-efficacy at a general level; at the level of the learning situation, it concerns perceived task difficulty, the amount of effort required, the amount of available assistance and guidance, the teacher's presentation of the task, and familiarity with the task type.

4. *Satisfaction* concerns the outcome of an activity, referring to the combination of extrinsic rewards such as praise or good marks and to intrinsic rewards such as enjoyment and pride.

Among the discussion papers published in 1994 in *The Modern Language Journal*, Rebecca Oxford and Jill Shearin's article (originally published in 1994 and extended in 1996) highlighted the growing gap between L2 motivation theories and the variety of emerging new concepts in mainstream motivational psychology, and called explicitly for an expansion of the social psychological approach. In a real 'paradigm-seeking' effort, the authors surveyed a wide array of motivation constructs in several branches of psychology (general, industrial, educational, cognitive developmental and sociocultural) in order to draw on them in developing L2 models that would have increased explanatory power in diverse contexts. The new perspective they presented was very broad and encompassed the following:

- need theories (personal needs, job satisfaction needs, need for achievement),
- expectancy-value theories,
- equity theories,

- reinforcement theories,
- social cognition theories,
- achievement goal theory,
- Piaget's cognitive developmental theory,
- Vygotsky's sociocultural theory.

Two influential theoretical frameworks of L2 motivation – by Dörnyei (1994a) and Williams and Burden (1997) – were developed during the 1990s that attempted to draw on some of these perspectives and concepts from mainstream psychology and relate them to the language learning setting.

Dörnyei's (1994a) three-level framework of L2 motivation

Crookes and Schmidt's approach of examining motivation at various conceptual levels was taken up by Dörnyei (1994a), who conceptualised L2 motivation within a framework of three relatively distinct levels (see Table 3.1):

- language level
- learner level
- learning situation level.

Dörnyei's intention was to design a comprehensive construct to synthesise various lines of research by offering an extensive list of motivational components categorised into main dimensions or clusters. For the first two levels, the conceptualisation of the components drew heavily on Gardner and Clément's theories, supplemented with the findings of Dörnyei (1990), whereas the third and most elaborate dimension was largely based on findings reported in educational psychology. More specifically:

- The *language level* encompasses various components related to aspects of the L2, such as the culture and the community, as well as the intellectual and pragmatic values and benefits associated with it.
- The *learner level* involves individual characteristics that the learner brings to the learning process.
- The *learning situation level* is associated with situation-specific motives rooted in various aspects of language learning within a classroom setting:

Table 3.1	**Dörnyei's framework of L2 motivation** (Dörnyei, 1994a: 280)
LANGUAGE LEVEL	Integrative motivational subsystem Instrumental motivational subsystem
LEARNER LEVEL	Need for achievement Self-confidence • Language use anxiety • Perceived L2 competence • Causal attributions • Self-efficacy
LEARNING SITUATION LEVEL	
Course-specific motivational	Interest (in the course) *components* Relevance (of the course to one's needs) Expectancy (of success) Satisfaction (one has in the outcome)
Teacher-specific motivational components	Affiliative motive (to please the teacher) Authority type (controlling vs. autonomy-supporting) Direct socialisation of motivation • Modelling • Task Presentation • Feedback
Group-specific motivational components	Goal-orientedness Norm and reward system Group cohesiveness Classroom goal structure (cooperative, competitive or individualistic)

- *Course-specific motivational components* are related to the syllabus, the teaching materials, the teaching method and the learning tasks, and can be well described with the framework of four motivational conditions proposed by Keller (1983) and subsequently by Crookes and Schmidt (1991) (interest, relevance, expectancy and satisfaction/outcome).
- *Teacher-specific motivational components* concern the motivational impact of the teacher's personality, behaviour and teaching style/ practice.
- *Group-specific motivational components* are related to the group dynamics of the learner group.

The rationale for separating the three motivational levels was that they seem to have a vital effect on overall motivation independently of

each other; that is, by changing the parameters at one level and keeping the other two dimensions constant, the overall motivation might completely change. For example, the same learner in the same learning situation might show a strikingly different degree of motivation depending on what the target language is. Similarly, when the target language is the same, the same learner's motivation can show vast differences as a function of the learning situation (consider, for example, the effect of a good or a bad teacher). In other words, each of the three levels of motivation exerts its influence independently of the others and has sufficient power to nullify the effects of the motives associated with the other two levels.

Williams and Burden's social constructivist model

Another comprehensive attempt to summarise motivational components relevant to L2 learning in the classroom setting was developed by Marion Williams and Bob Burden (1997) as part of a larger overview of psychology for language teachers. The authors' general approach taken in the whole book was rooted in a social constructivist tradition, and in terms of motivation, their emphasis on contextual influences is very much in accordance with the arguments in Section 2.2.

> **Quote 3.3** Williams and Burden on the social constructivist conception of motivation
>
> A constructivist view of motivation centres around the premise that each individual is motivated differently.... However, an individual's motivation is also subject to social and contextual influences. These will include the whole culture and context and the social situation, as well as significant other people and the individual's interaction with these people. Thus, the approach we are taking, in keeping with the rest of this book, is social constructivist.
>
> Williams and Burden (1997: 121)

In the conclusion to their discussion of L2 motivation, the authors presented a detailed framework of motivational factors, categorised in terms of learner-internal and external factors (Table 3.2). These were all distilled from a review of mainstream rather than the L2 motivation literature, which placed Williams and Burden's framework very much in line with the 'paradigm-seeking spirit' of the reform movement in the 1990s.

Table 3.2 **Williams and Burden's framework of L2 motivation** (Williams and Burden, 1997)

INTERNAL FACTORS	EXTERNAL FACTORS
Intrinsic interest of activity: • arousal of curiosity • optimal degree of challenge	Significant others: • parents • teachers • peers
Perceived value of activity: • personal relevance • anticipated value of outcomes • intrinsic value attributed to the activity	The nature of interaction with significant others: • mediated learning experiences • the nature and amount of feedback • rewards • the nature and amount of appropriate praise • punishments, sanctions
Sense of agency: • locus of causality • locus of control RE process and outcomes • ability to set appropriate goals	
Mastery: • feelings of competence • awareness of developing skills and mastery in a chosen area • self-efficacy	The learning environment: • comfort • resources • time of day, week, year • size of class and school • class and school ethos
Self-concept: • realistic awareness of personal strengths and weaknesses in skills required • personal definitions and judgements of success and failure • self-worth concern • learned helplessness	The broader context: • wider family networks • the local education system • conflicting interests • cultural norms • societal expectations and attitudes
Attitudes: • to language learning in general • to the target language • to the target language community and culture	
Other affective states: • confidence • anxiety, fear	
Developmental age and stage	
Gender	

3.2.2   Key areas of enquiry

The expanded theoretical frameworks developed by Dörnyei and by Williams and Burden were useful in describing and classifying the array of factors potentially shaping language learning motivation in the classroom setting, and in pointing to possible areas of research enquiry. We

will briefly describe the main areas of enquiry that began to draw attention during the cognitive-situated period. It should be noted that research in these areas has continued to evolve and develop to the present day, responding to the changing theoretical perspectives now shaping L2 motivation. We will return to consider current developments in these areas in later chapters.

Attributional processes

Given that, for most people, an inescapable difference between L1 and L2 learning is the degree of success ultimately achieved, the role of attributional processes for success and failure outcomes in shaping motivation seems potentially significant. Skehan (1989) was perhaps one of the first scholars to call for more research on applying attribution theory (Section 2.1.1) to language learning, a call echoed by several others (e.g. Dörnyei, 1990; Julkunen, 1989; Schmidt et al., 1996; Tremblay and Gardner, 1995). Causal attributions were included in the learner level in Dörnyei's (1994a) framework, and also subsumed in Williams and Burden's (1997) framework within the learner-internal factors of self-concept and sense of agency.

Yet despite recognition of their importance, little actual research has been conducted on attributional processes in L2 learning and motivation. One reason for this may be related to the traditionally *quantitative nature* of L2 motivation research: the effects of causal attributions are complex, varying as a function of the type of attributions made and the attributional style and biases of the learners, and therefore questionnaire-based studies focusing on linear relationships of broad categories may not be adequate to do this intricate process justice. This claim is underscored by the fact that two relatively small-scale qualitative studies by Williams and Burden (1999) and Ushioda (1996a, 1998) have provided a rich source of insights into the causal attributional processes of L2 learners (see Concept 3.5; see also Williams et al., 2001 for a small-scale qualitative study of cultural perspectives in learner attributions). As we will see later, work on attributional processes has largely evolved since then in the context of autonomy theory and motivational self-regulation.

Concept 3.5   **Attributional findings in two qualitative studies**

1. In a two-stage interview study of Irish learners of French, Ushioda (1996a, 1998) found that maintaining a positive self-concept and a

belief in personal potential in the face of negative experiences hinged on two *attributional patterns*:

- attributing positive L2 outcomes to personal ability or other internal factors (e.g. effort, perfectionist approach);
- attributing negative L2 outcomes or lack of success to temporary (i.e. unstable) shortcomings that might be overcome (e.g. lack of effort, lack of opportunity to spend time in the L2 environment).

These two patterns coincide almost exactly with the recommendations made in educational psychology concerning the promotion of motivation-enhancing attributions.

2. Williams and Burden (1999) were concerned with the developmental aspects of learner attributions in L2 studies. Their interview study revealed clear differences between the different age groups studied in terms of the learners' construction of success and in the range of attributions provided for success and failure:

- 10–12 year olds saw the main reasons for success as listening and concentrating;
- older children provided a wider range of attributions, including ability, level of work, circumstances and the influence of others.

A noteworthy finding was that there was hardly any mention of the application of appropriate learning strategies when explaining successes, indicating a lack of awareness of the importance of strategy use.

Self-determination theory

In view of the widespread influence of Deci and Ryan's (1985) theory of intrinsic/extrinsic motivation and self-determination in mainstream educational psychology (Section 2.1.3), it is not surprising that the importance of intrinsic motivation in the language classroom has also long been recognised (e.g. Brown 1981, 1990). In Dörnyei's (1994a) framework of L2 motivation, interest in the course was a key component at the learning situation level, and intrinsic interest was listed first among the internal factors in Williams and Burden's (1997) framework (see Tables 3.1 and 3.2 above).

The extensive development of self-determination theory (SDT) perspectives in language learning owes much to the work of Kim Noels and her colleagues (Noels, 2001a, 2001b, 2003, 2009; Noels et al., 1999, 2000, 2001). Noels et al. (2000) set out to develop a new L2 specific instrument for assessing L2 learners' orientations from a self-determination perspective (i.e. a questionnaire that measures various

types of intrinsic and extrinsic orientations in L2 learning), and to relate the obtained measures to:

- various antecedent and consequence measures (perceptions of competence, freedom of choice, anxiety, and the intention to continue L2 studies – all assessed by scales well established in educational psychology) to serve as criterion measures;
- Clément and Kruidenier's (1983) influential system of four types of orientations: instrumental, knowledge, travel, friendship.

The researchers found that instrumental orientation corresponded closely to *external extrinsic regulation* (for the taxonomy of different types of extrinsic motive, see Section 2.1.3), whereas the other three orientations were associated with more *self-determined and intrinsic* types of motive. In addition, an interesting finding was that, contrary to expectation, the identified regulation scale (representing personally valued internalised goals and motives) had a stronger relation with the criterion variables than the intrinsic motivation subscales. Noels et al. speculate that intrinsic motivation factors such as enjoyment and interest may not be sufficient in themselves to foster sustained learning, and that the personal value and importance of learning the language may be more significant in this regard.

The work of Noels and her colleagues has been helpful in offering a theoretical framework for classifying and organising language learning goals or orientations in terms of a self-determination continuum. Moreover, their situated classroom-focused research has highlighted features of the social learning setting (specifically, the teachers' communication or instructional style and the degree to which this is perceived as controlling or autonomy supportive) which may influence the development of students' intrinsic or extrinsic motivation. SDT perspectives on L2 motivation continue to be a strong research area and we will return to consider current developments in later chapters.

Autonomy theory

The shift to cognitive-situated perspectives on L2 motivation in the 1990s coincided with a period when there was rising interest in learner autonomy in language education (e.g. Allwright, 1990; Dam, 1995; Gremmo and Riley, 1995; Little, 1991) as well as in language learning strategies (e.g. Oxford, 1990; Wenden, 1991), with the widespread establishment of self-access centres through the 1990s and the development of new technologies promoting independent learning (for a

recent overview, see White, 2008). Not surprisingly, perhaps, a small body of literature developed during this period that began to explore the theoretical interface between autonomy and motivation, and the relationship between motivation and learner strategies.

Dickinson (1995) published an important review of the literature on autonomy and motivation, drawing on cognitive theories and concepts of motivation in education (e.g. intrinsic/extrinsic motivation, attribution theory, mastery/performance goals) to analyse links with autonomy and develop justification for its promotion in language learning. A key argument in linking autonomy and motivation is that both are centrally concerned with the learner's active engagement with and involvement in the learning process. As Ushioda (1996b) summarised, while autonomy implies being involved in and taking responsibility for one's learning in all its aspects, self-motivation implies taking charge of the affective dimension of the learning process. This intimate connection between the affective component of motivation (willingness) and the metacognitive component of knowledge and skills (ability) for learning was similarly reflected in Littlewood's (1996) framework of autonomy, and mirrored the integration of 'will and skill' in theories of self-regulated learning (McCombs and Marzano, 1990; see also Section 2.2.2). In an empirical study, Okada et al. (1996) found strong relationships between motivation and students' use of metacognitive strategies, leading the researchers to speculate that metacognition (which has been shown to distinguish successful from unsuccessful learners and is central to learner autonomy) is strongly tied to motivation (see also Vandergrift, 2005).

Quote 3.4 Dickinson on autonomy and motivation

This review of a selection of the literature on motivation seeks a justification for the promotion of learner autonomy among language learners. It has been shown that there is substantial evidence from cognitive motivational studies that learning success and enhanced motivation is conditional on learners taking responsibility for their own learning, being able to control their own learning and perceiving that their learning successes and failures are to be attributed to their own efforts and strategies rather than to factors outside their control. Each of these conditions is a characteristic of learner autonomy as it is described in applied linguistics.

Dickinson (1995: 173–4)

In effect, the study of the relationship between motivation and autonomy or strategy use focused attention on the role of motivation in a person's metacognitive engagement in learning, and on processes of self-motivation or motivational self-regulation as learners strive to manage the affective dimension of their learning experience over time. As we will see later, the study of the motivation/autonomy interface has continued to generate much attention, evolving through the process-oriented period of L2 motivation research with its focus on motivational self-regulation, and moving into the current socio-dynamic period.

Task motivation

The shift to cognitive-situated perspectives on L2 motivation also coincided with a period when there was a rapidly growing literature on task-based research and task-based instruction in the L2 learning field (e.g. Crookes and Gass, 1993a, 1993b; Long, 1989; Long and Crookes, 1992; Willis, 1996; for recent overviews see Samuda and Bygate, 2008; Van den Branden et al., 2009). From a research perspective, focusing on tasks as the unit of analysis makes it possible to break down the language learning process into clearly definable segments, and facilitates analysis of the cognitive processing mechanisms involved. As Dörnyei (2002) notes, taking language tasks as the basic level of analysis was also a logical step for cognitive-situated approaches to motivation, since motivation can hardly be examined in a more situated manner than within a task-based framework.

Among the first to focus on task-related motivation in the L2 field was Kyösti Julkunen, who published a series of studies in Finland (reported in Julkunen, 1989, 2001). Drawing particularly on the work of Boekaerts (1987, 1988) and the distinction she makes between *trait motivation* (a learner's general motivational orientation) and *state motivation* (a learner's situation-specific motivation), Julkunen (2001) developed a motivation model that attempted to capture situation-specific motivation and relate it to general motivational orientation, and proposed a construct of task motivation that combined generalised and situation-specific motives.

In an empirical study that explored the motivational characteristics of language learning tasks, however, Dörnyei (2002) offered a rather more complex view of task motivation than the state/trait dichotomy. As he argued, a weakness of the state/trait approach is that it suggests a fairly static conception of motivation, whereas the process of engaging in and executing a language learning task clearly spans a period

of time during which it is unlikely that motivation will remain stable. In Dörnyei's view, an individual's task motivation is likely to be the composite dynamic outcome of a complex range of contextual influences as well as learner-internal factors and the intrinsic properties of the task, and likely to vary in relation to different stages of task engagement, learners' ongoing appraisal or monitoring of the task engagement process, and their efforts to control or regulate this process (cf. Dörnyei and Tseng, 2009; for a more detailed account, see the part on 'Motivational task processing' in Section 4.3.2).

As with the study of motivation in relation to autonomy, the study of task motivation thus also focused attention on the notion of motivation as process over time. In this sense, the shift to cognitive-situated perspectives through the 1990s led to a more explicit concern with the dynamic nature of motivation and its temporal dimension, and to the development of more *process-oriented* theoretical approaches, to which we now turn.

3.3   The process-oriented period

As we observed in Section 1.1.2, a major challenge for motivation theories in general is to describe the temporal organisation of motivation, that is, to portray motivational processes as they happen in time. This is of particular importance when the target of our interest is a sustained learning process, such as the mastery of a second language, which may take several years to accomplish. Although most practitioners with sufficient classroom experience know too well that student motivation does not remain constant during the course of learning, it is only within the last decade or so that efforts have been made to analyse the dynamics of L2 motivational change at either the micro level (e.g. task motivation) or the more macro level (e.g. during a course of study, over a person's learning history or across the lifespan).

In this section, we will first review the work of Williams and Burden (1997), Ushioda (1994, 1996a, 1998), and Dörnyei and Ottó (1998), which paved the way for process-oriented approaches to L2 motivation, and then briefly summarise key lines of enquiry in this area.

3.3.1   Focus on time by Williams and Burden

A basic first step in analysing motivation from a temporal perspective is to clarify the conceptual distinction between motivation *for*

engagement (choices, reasons, wishes, intentions, decisions), and motivation *during* engagement (how one feels, behaves and responds during the course of learning). Among the first to highlight this simple but important conceptual distinction in relation to L2 motivation were Williams and Burden (1997). In addition to developing an extensive theoretical framework of L2 motivation (Section 3.2.1), they analysed the successive stages of the motivational process along a continuum:

Reasons for doing something
      → Deciding to do something
            → Sustaining the effort, or persisting.

As the authors argue, the first two stages may be seen as more concerned with *initiating motivation*, while the last stage involves *sustaining motivation*. They emphasise that these two aspects of motivation should be clearly differentiated, not just from a theoretical perspective but also from a pedagogical perspective. This conceptualisation bears a close resemblance to Heckhausen's (1991; see also Heckhausen and Heckhausen, 2008) motivational dichotomy of 'intention formation' (or choice motivation) and 'intention implementation' (or executive motivation), and accords with the approach developed by Dörnyei and Ottó (1998) in their process model of L2 motivation (Section 3.3.3).

> **Quote 3.5** Williams and Burden on the need to separate the generation and maintenance of motivation
>
> It is important to emphasise here that motivation is more than simply arousing interest. It also involves sustaining interest and investing time and energy into putting the necessary effort to achieve certain goals. We make this point because so often, from a teacher's point of view, motivation is seen as simply sparking an initial interest, for example, presenting an interesting language activity. However, motivating learners entails far more than this.
>
> Williams and Burden (1997: 121)

3.3.2   Focus on time by Ushioda

One reason why the L2 motivation field has been slow to address temporal aspects may have been the predominance of a quantitative research paradigm, characteristic not only of the Gardnerian social

psychological tradition within SLA but also of the psychometric tradition of mainstream cognitive approaches to motivation which came to influence our field in the 1990s. As we will see in more detail later in Chapters 8 and 9, quantitative research approaches seek to represent the bigger picture, using measurement instruments such as test batteries or questionnaires to examine generalisable patterns and relationships across a large dataset. Such approaches do not lend themselves easily to investigating the dynamic processes of motivational evolution within an individual person's learning experience (though as we will see in Section 3.3.4, they can be used to measure motivational change at a more global level).

Quote 3.6   Ushioda on the need for new research approaches to explore the dynamic nature of L2 motivation

Within the context of institutionalised learning especially, the common experience would seem to be motivational flux rather than stability.... Yet, the potential for developing a dynamic theory of L2 motivation would seem to extend beyond the phenomenon of motivational loss or growth alone. In this respect, a more introspective type of research approach is needed to explore qualitative developments in motivational experience over time, as well as to identify the contextual factors perceived to be in dynamic interplay with motivation.

Ushioda (1996a: 240–1)

Not surprisingly then, a focus on the temporal dimension of motivation heralded also a call for qualitative research approaches that would be more sensitive to exploring and representing the dynamic nature of motivational processes, as voiced in particular by Ushioda (1994, 1996a). In a longitudinal interview study with Irish learners of French (Ushioda, 1998, 2001; for an overview of the study, see Study 9.11 in Chapter 9), she identified inter-individual and intra-individual variation in the temporal frame of reference shaping students' motivation. Sixteen of the 20 participants defined their L2 motivation principally in terms of the impact of a positive learning history, rather than in terms of future goals. With respect to future goal-orientation, her data suggested that this was 'more appropriately conceived as a potentially *evolving* dimension of language learning motivation, rather than its necessary rationale' (Ushioda, 1998: 81–2), since definitive goal structures
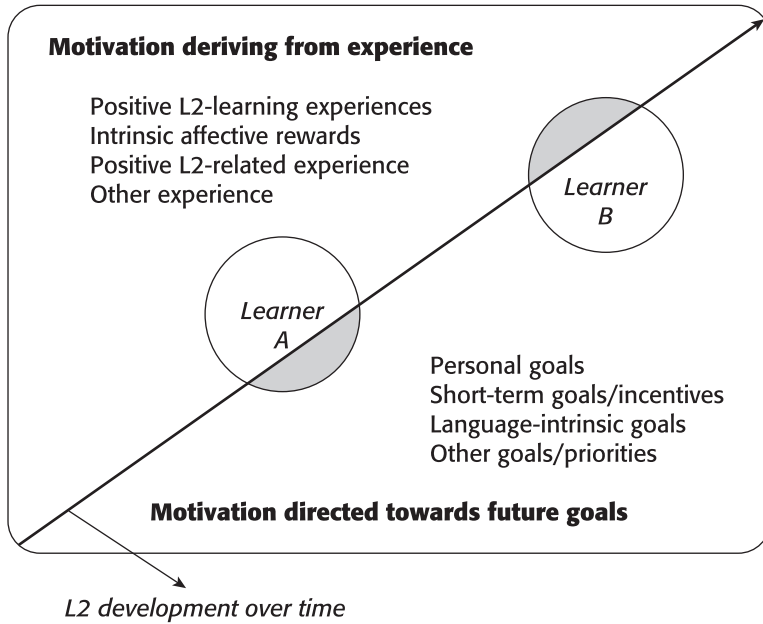
Motivation deriving from experience

Positive L2-learning experiences
Intrinsic affective rewards
Positive L2-related experience
Other experience

Learner B

Learner A

Personal goals
Short-term goals/incentives
Language-intrinsic goals
Other goals/priorities

Motivation directed towards future goals

L2 development over time

Figure 3.3   **Ushioda's (1998: 82) theoretical framework of motivation from a temporal perspective**

may take considerable time to crystallise. In the meantime, the motivational mainspring sustaining engagement in L2 learning may well be the learners' L2-learning and L2-related experience, especially in the case of successful language learners; that is, 'they may feel motivated to pursue language study because they perceive that this is what they are good at or what they enjoy most, and where therefore their future potential must lie' (p. 82).

Figure 3.3 offers a schematic representation of Ushioda's conception of L2 motivation from a temporal perspective. Learner A in the figure is motivated by positive experiences, with goal-directed patterns playing a minor role. In contrast, Learner B's motivational thought structure is primarily goal-directed. As Ushioda (1998, 2001) emphasises, the motivational pattern of Learner B may represent a potential later stage in the evolution of Learner A's motivational thinking, as future goals assume greater importance or clarity. Thus, she concludes: 'In this respect, the notion of a temporal frame of reference shaping motivational thinking integrates the phenomenon of evolution over time, which seems central to the learners' experience of and thus conception of language learning motivation' (1998: 82–3).
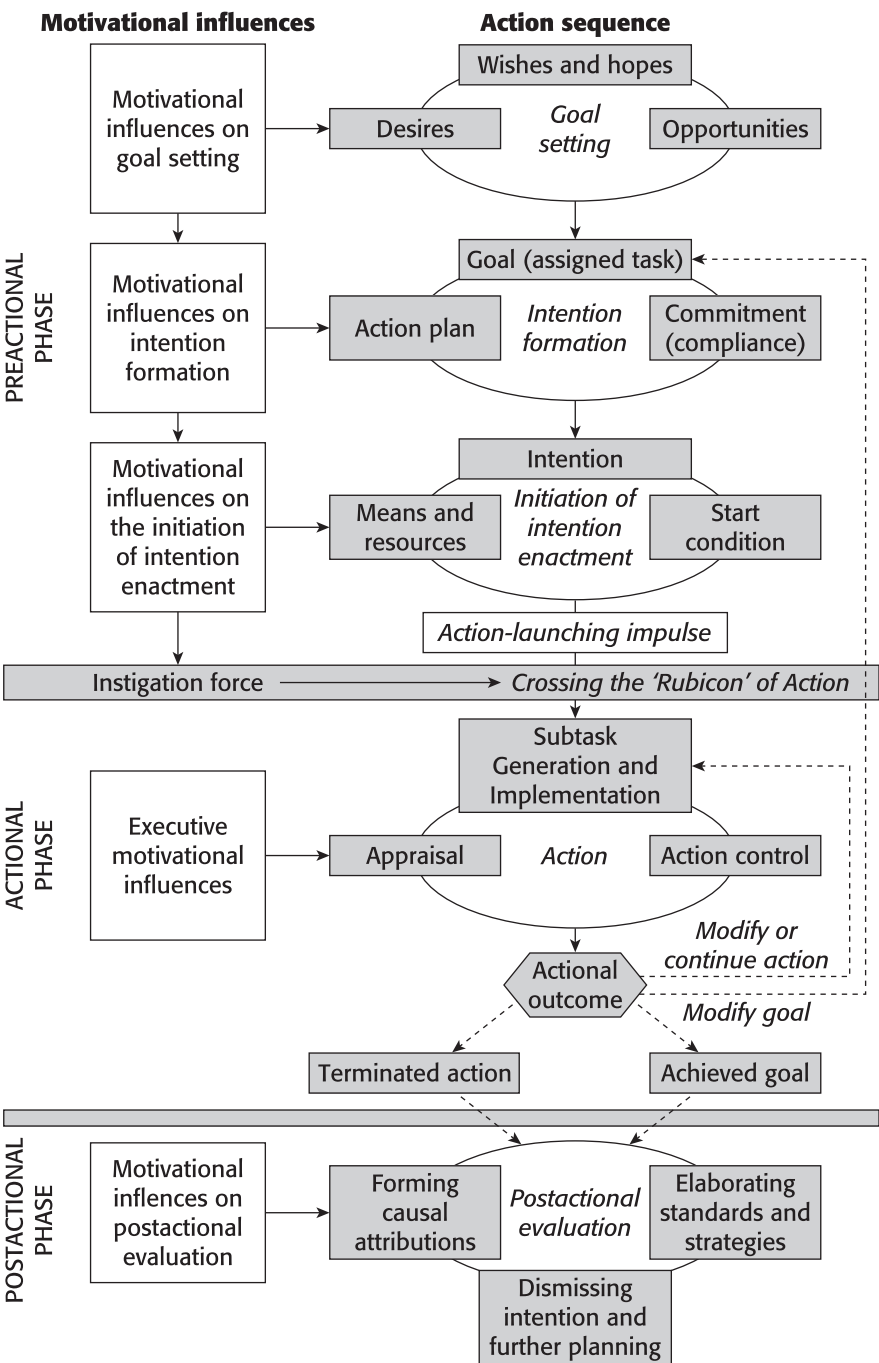
Figure 3.4   **Dörnyei and Ottó's (1998: 48) process model of L2 motivation**

3.3.3 Dörnyei and Ottó's process model of L2 motivation

The most elaborate attempt to model the process dimension of L2 motivation was developed by Dörnyei and Ottó (1998; see also Dörnyei, 2000, 2001a). Their model organises the motivational influences of L2 learning along a sequence of discrete actional events within the chain of initiating and enacting motivated behaviour. In developing a process model of L2 motivation, Dörnyei and Ottó also aimed to synthesise a number of different lines of research in a unified framework, thereby offering a non-reductionist, comprehensive model.

Figure 3.4 is a schematic representation of the process model of L2 motivation, which contains two main dimensions:

- Action Sequence
- Motivational Influences.

The first dimension represents the behavioural process whereby initial wishes, hopes and desires are first transformed into *goals*, then into *intentions*, leading eventually to *action* and, hopefully, to the *accomplishment of the goals*, after which the process is submitted to final *evaluation*. The second dimension of the model, Motivational Influences, includes the *energy sources* and *motivational forces* that underlie and fuel the behavioural process.

Drawing on Heckhausen and Kuhl's (1985) Action Control Theory, Dörnyei and Ottó divided the motivated behavioural process into three main phases:

1. *Preactional phase*. This corresponds roughly to 'choice motivation' leading to the selection of the goal or task to be pursued. Within this phase, three sequential subprocesses can be distinguished: goal setting, intention formation and the initiation of intention enactment. The main motivational influences during this phase are likely to be various goal properties (e.g. relevance, proximity); values associated with the learning process, outcomes and consequences; attitudes towards the L2 and its speakers; expectancy of success; learner beliefs and strategies; environmental support or constraints.

2. *Actional phase*. This corresponds to 'executive motivation' that energises action while it is being carried out and, following Heckhausen (1991), can be compared to crossing a metaphorical 'Rubicon' (see Concept 3.6): by actually embarking on the task (e.g. enrolling in a language course), the individual is committed to action and the emphasis shifts from deliberation and decision-making to

implementation. During the actional phase, three basic processes come into effect: *subtask generation and implementation* to break down action plans into manageable units and short-term goals; a complex ongoing *appraisal* process to evaluate the multitude of stimuli from the learning environment and monitor progress towards the goal; the application of various *action control* mechanisms or self-regulatory strategies to enhance, protect and sustain motivation and learning progress. The main motivational influences during the actional phase are likely to be the quality of the learning experience, sense of autonomy, social influences (teachers, peers, parents), classroom reward and goal structures, and knowledge and use of self-regulatory strategies.

3. *Post-actional phase*. This involves critical retrospection after action has been completed or possibly interrupted for a period (e.g. a holiday). The main processes during this phase entail evaluating the accomplished action outcome and contemplating possible inferences to be drawn for future actions. During this phase, the learner compares initial expectancies and plans of action to how they turned out in reality and forms causal attributions about the outcomes. Through this evaluative process, internal standards are developed, as well as action-specific strategies for future learning, followed by the transition to new or further goals and intentions. The main motivational influences during the post-actional phase are likely to be attributional factors, self-concept beliefs and external feedback and achievement grades.

Concept 3.6   **On the 'Rubicon' of action**

The Rubicon was a small stream at the northern border of Italy in the era of the Roman Empire. In order to protect Roman democracy from military coups, a specific law forbade a general to lead an army out of the province to which he was assigned. In 49 BC, after a great deal of internal political turmoil, Julius Caesar's forces crossed the river Rubicon, thereby violating the law and declaring war against the Roman Senate (starting a three-year civil war that left Caesar ruler of the Roman Empire). 'Crossing the Rubicon' has since then become a phrase to describe a step that definitely commits a person to a given course of action. Heckhausen (1991) named his motivation theory the 'Rubicon Model of Action Phases' based on this analogy.

3.3.4   Researching motivation as process: key lines of enquiry

As noted in Section 3.3.2, researching motivation as process and ex-
perience over time (rather than as measurable cause or product of
learning outcomes) raises issues about appropriate research methods
and tools for exploration and analysis. We will consider questions of
methodology in general at much greater length in Section III. Here we
will briefly indicate the main lines of enquiry that have been developed
to investigate the temporal dimension of L2 motivation.

Focus on global changes in motivation

A number of studies have investigated global changes in motivation
during a course of study or over several years of learning, typically
using questionnaire-type instruments to obtain measures of attitudes
and motivation at different points in time, or from students in different
year groups or stages of learning, and then examining change or dif-
ference. Studies of this kind include, for example, Chambers (1999),
Gardner et al. (2004), Inbar et al. (2001), Tachibana et al. (1996),
Williams et al. (2002). A fairly consistent finding in longitudinal
research on student motivation is evidence of some decline in levels
of motivation, typically as students progress through the upper years
of schooling and face increasing curricular, cognitive and linguistic
demands and pressures.

While longitudinal surveys of this kind may offer only a fairly global
picture of change, they can usefully shed light on particular dimen-
sions of motivation which are more or less susceptible to change. In
their study of university students learning French, for example,
Gardner et al. (2004) found that situation-specific motivation (attitudes
toward the learning situation) was prone to much greater changes than
integrativeness, and that such changes were associated with students'
ultimate success in the course.

Undoubtedly, the most extensive and ambitious attempt to track
motivational change to date is the large-scale longitudinal survey of
Hungarian language learners conducted by Dörnyei and his colleagues
(Dörnyei et al., 2006; see also Dörnyei and Clément, 2001; Dörnyei
and Csizér, 2002). The survey of motivation and attitudes spanned the
period from 1993 to 2004 and involved over 13,000 language learners
aged 13–14. It entailed three phases of data collection timed to coin-
cide with significant stages in the sociopolitical transformation of
Hungary: Spring 1993 (just a few years after the fall of Communism);

late 1999 (end of the first decade of political freedom and on the eve of the new millennium); and Spring 2004 (shortly before Hungary's membership of the European Union). Space does not of course permit a detailed summary of the findings of this major survey, except to note a steady decline in students' interest in learning foreign languages over this time span, with the clear exception of instrumental motivation for learning English, which showed a marked growth. We will return to this finding and its repercussions at the end of this chapter and in Chapter 4.

Investigating motivation across the lifespan

Another developing area considers changes in motivation within individual learners' experiences across extended periods of their lives, prompted perhaps by growing interest in biographical and autobiographical methods of enquiry in applied linguistics and the social sciences in general (Chamberlayne et al., 2000). Studies of this kind include, for example, Lim's (2002) autobiographical analysis of her motivation through experiences of learning English through different phases of her life from formal schooling as a child to her later life as a graduate student in the US.

Shoaib and Dörnyei (2005) developed this lifespan perspective on motivation further using retrospective qualitative interviews with 25 learners of English ranging in age from 18–34, and explored patterns of motivational influence and change in participants' language learning histories and experiences over a period of several years (for more details, see Study 8.2 at the end of Chapter 8). The researchers identified a number of recurring temporal patterns and key *transformational episodes* affecting motivation, including for example transitions to new life phases (such as leaving school and entering the world of work) or the experience of visiting an English-speaking environment.

Investigating motivational self-regulation

Dörnyei and Ottó's (1998) process model of L2 motivation and the growing body of literature on motivation in relation to autonomy and strategy use have highlighted the importance of developing self-regulatory strategies to manage, reinforce or sustain one's motivation during the course of learning. In her interview-based study of university learners of French, Ushioda (1998, 2001) identified various patterns

of thinking and strategic actions reported by students as a means of sustaining motivation. These included the positive attribution patterns summarised earlier (see Concept 3.5 above), as well as self-motivational strategies such as setting themselves targets, engaging in positive self-talk or rediscovering their enjoyment of learning by engaging in an L2 activity they find intrinsically motivating. As she later argues (Ushioda, 2003), learners' capacity to take strategic measures to regulate their motivation is a function of the degree to which they are aware of themselves as agents in constructing the thoughts and belief patterns that shape their motivation, and are thus able to step outside maladaptive belief systems and think positively and constructively to stay self-motivated. We will discuss the pedagogical implications of motivational self-regulation in Chapter 5 (in 5.2.3).

3.4   From process-oriented to socio-dynamic perspectives

As we stated at the beginning of this chapter, we now see the process-oriented period of L2 motivation research evolving into (or perhaps merging with) a new phase that we have christened the *socio-dynamic period*. In this final section, we will indicate some of the critical factors that seem to be shaping this change and briefly characterise what we mean by the socio-dynamic phase. Then, in the next chapter we review the range of current socio-dynamic perspectives in L2 motivation research.

3.4.1   The complexity of the interrelationship of motivational factors

In critically reflecting on his process model of L2 motivation, Dörnyei (2005) acknowledges two key shortcomings. Firstly, it assumes that we can define and delimit the actional process under focus. While this may potentially be workable in the case of a discrete learning task (e.g. in a research laboratory setting), in a real classroom setting it is impossible to say exactly when a learning process begins and ends, or whether several learning processes might be running simultaneously, overlapping or interacting with one another. Secondly, the model assumes that the actional process occurs in relative isolation, without interference

from other actional processes that the learner may simultaneously be engaged in. These might relate to other academic studies as well as various personal and social goals. In short, the process model of L2 motivation cannot do justice to the dynamic and situated complexity of the learning process or the multiple goals and agendas shaping learner behaviour.

In a recent book-length overview of the psychology of SLA, Dörnyei (2009b) went one step further when he pointed out that an additional shortcoming of the process model was that although it reframed motivation as a dynamically changing cumulative arousal in a person, it was still conceptualised within a process-oriented paradigm characterised by linear cause-effect relations. However, the multiple parallel and interacting cause-effect relationships, accompanied by several circular feedback loops, made the validity of the overall linear nature of the model highly questionable. (See also Section 4.1.1 for further discussion of the problems with linear approaches to L2 motivation.) Thus, Dörnyei concluded, 'it was really a matter of time before I realised that such a patchwork of interwoven cause-effect relationships would not do the complexity of the motivation system justice and therefore a more radical reformulation was needed' (p. 197). This 'radical reformulation' involved eventually adopting a complex dynamic systems perspective.

3.4.2   The integration of motivation and social context

As we saw in Section 2.2.2, contemporary approaches in mainstream motivational psychology are shaped by situative perspectives that aim to integrate the notions of self and context in a dynamic and holistic way, and to explore how motivation develops and emerges through the complex interactions between self and context. The influence of this line of thinking has also begun to be felt in the L2 motivation field, largely spurred by critical perspectives on the social psychological and cognitive approaches that have dominated to date. In a pioneering large-scale longitudinal study of L2 acquisition by migrant workers in Europe, for example, Bremer et al. (1996) highlighted the socio-contextual conditions of language acquisition and (by implication) of processes of motivation, focusing in particular on the dynamics of communication encounters between migrant workers and native speakers and the linguistic gatekeeping strategies employed by the latter in these encounters.

One key critical voice to emerge has been that of Bonny Norton. Norton (2000) questions the notion of an 'ahistorical' language learner who can be unproblematically characterised as instrumentally or integratively motivated, with a clear-cut target identity, since motivation and identity are socially constructed, often in inequitable relations of power, changing over time and space, and possibly coexisting in contradictory ways in the individual. She argues that SLA theorists have not developed a comprehensive theory of identity that integrates the language learner and the language learning context. She uses the term identity to reference how a person understands his or her relationship to the world, how that relationship is constructed across time and space, and how the person understands possibilities for the future. She also develops the motivational concept of *investment* to capture the 'socially and historically constructed relationship of learners to the target language, and their often ambivalent desire to learn and practice it' (Norton, 2000: 10).

Norton's view of motivation, identity and language as socially and historically situated processes is in keeping with the broader 'social turn' (Block, 2003) that is now shaping SLA and that has begun to make its influence felt in the L2 motivation field. By 'social turn', we mean that there is now a considerable body of opinion in our field which suggests that we should view language learning as a sociocultural and sociohistorically situated process, rather than as primarily a cognitive psycholinguistic process (Lafford, 2007; Seidlhofer, 2003; Zuengler and Miller, 2006). This has implications for how we conceptualise and theorise the interactions between motivation and social context, and heralds a move away from traditional linear models of contextual and motivational variables to relational and dynamic systems perspectives.

3.4.3   The rise of Global English

Dörnyei et al.'s (2006) large-scale longitudinal survey of language learning motivation in Hungary uncovered a clear trend in students' perceptions of English as the 'must-have' language, diminishing their interest in and motivation for learning other foreign languages, including the traditional regional language, German. The inexorable spread of English as a global language (Crystal, 2003) and international *lingua franca* seems to have at least two related repercussions for how we theorise language learning motivation. Firstly, as Dörnyei (2005) argues,

it suggests that we may need to adopt a two-tier approach to analysing L2 motivation, depending on whether the target language is English (as world language) or not. This is because motivation for learning English is likely to be qualitatively different in many ways from learning other second or foreign languages, as English increasingly becomes viewed as a basic educational skill to be developed from primary level alongside literacy and numeracy, and thus, as Graddol (2006: 98–99) has predicted, numbers of English *as a foreign language* learners could soon begin to decline.

The second repercussion for L2 motivation theory concerns the fact that the ownership of Global English clearly does not rest with a specific geographically-defined community of speakers, especially as English is widely used as a *lingua franca* between speakers of other languages and not simply in interactions between so-called 'native' and 'non-native' speakers. Consequently, traditional concepts of L2 motivation such as integrativeness and attitudes to target language speakers and their culture begin to lose meaning, as there is no clear target reference group and English is seen simply as a basic educational skill (much like literacy, numeracy or computer skills) not tied to a particular culture or community.

3.4.4   Entering the socio-dynamic phase

In sum, from the process-oriented period of L2 motivation research, we are now moving into a new phase characterised by a concern with the situated complexity of the L2 motivation process and its organic development in dynamic interaction with a multiplicity of internal, social and contextual factors; and by a concern to theorise L2 motivation in ways that take account of the broader complexities of language learning and use in the modern globalised world. The move towards more socially grounded, dynamic and complex interacting systems in the analysis of L2 motivation is also in keeping with wider contemporary trends within the field of applied linguistics that has highlighted emergentist and dynamic systems approaches to understanding SLA (e.g. de Bot et al., 2007; Dörnyei 2009b; Ellis and Larsen-Freeman 2006; Larsen-Freeman and Cameron 2008a; van Geert 2008). In the next chapter, we will examine the key developments in this new socio-dynamic phase in detail.

Quote 3.7 Nick Ellis on language as a complex dynamic system

A DST (Dynamic Systems Theory) characterization of L2 acquisition as an emergent process marks the coming of age of SLA research. It is an important theoretical maturation in that it brings together the many factors that interact in the complex system of language, learning, and use. ... [It views] language as a complex dynamic system where cognitive, social and environmental factors continuously interact, where creative communicative behaviours emerge from socially co-regulated interactions, where there is little by way of linguistic universals as a starting point in the mind of *ab initio* language learners or discernible end state, where flux and individual variation abound, where cause-effect relationships are non-linear, multivariate and interactive, and where language is not a collection of rules and target forms to be acquired, but rather a by-product of communicative processes.

N. Ellis (2007: 23)

Motivation to learn another language: current socio-dynamic perspectives

This chapter will . . .

- discuss current developments in L2 motivation theory;
- present three new approaches to conceptualising L2 motivation.

In the previous chapter we saw how the study of L2 motivation has evolved through different theoretical phases since the 1960s, and how it is now moving into a new phase that we have characterised as the *socio-dynamic* phase. In Section 3.3 we briefly outlined what we see as some of the critical factors that are shaping this transition. In this chapter we will discuss these factors and related issues in greater depth as we explore their implications for how we theorise the motivation to learn another language, whether that language is regarded as a second, foreign or additional language, a heritage language, a global language, a *lingua franca*, or a basic educational skill. To this end, we will focus on three new approaches to conceptualising L2 motivation which differ significantly from the kinds of models and frameworks that have characterised earlier theoretical phases in the field; and which, we believe, centrally define the transition to a socio-dynamic period of L2 motivation research. The three new conceptual approaches are:

- A person-in-context relational view of motivation (Ushioda, 2009),
- The L2 Motivational Self System (Dörnyei, 2005, 2009a),
- Motivation from a complex dynamic systems perspective (Dörnyei, 2009b).

4.1   A person-in-context relational view of motivation

As we noted at the end of Chapter 1, the limitations of linear approaches to motivational theorising in mainstream psychology are now prompting new thinking on relational perspectives that take account of evolving organic interactions between individual and contextual processes. In this section, we will first consider the limitations of traditional linear approaches to L2 motivation research, and then discuss the value of adopting a relational approach and what such an approach may entail, with close reference to the person-in-context relational view of L2 motivation recently developed by Ushioda (2009).

4.1.1   Problems with linear approaches to L2 motivation

Research interest in L2 motivation originated in a concern to identify possible causes of variability in language learning success other than cognitive factors such as ability or aptitude (cf. Section 3.1). A key question that launched Gardner and Lambert (1972) on their empirical quest was: 'How is it that some people can learn a second or foreign language so easily and do so well while others, given what seem to be the same opportunities to learn, find it almost impossible?' (p. 130). As we observed in Chapter 3, over the decades since then the field of L2 motivation research has developed, expanded and evolved in various ways. Nevertheless, while the list of motivational variables has grown extensively beyond social psychological factors to include concepts such as intrinsic motivation, self-efficacy and attributions, the search for *cause-effect relationships* has continued to dominate research perspectives, even when scholars took a more dynamic, process-oriented approach (cf. Section 3.4.1). In essence, as Ushioda (2009) argues, the underlying aim has been to develop generalisable linear models that can predict what kinds of motivation might lead to what kinds of learning behaviour in what kinds of context, and thus what kinds of pedagogical intervention might be needed to change maladaptive patterns of motivation and so improve learning behaviours and outcomes.

Of course, such linear approaches are very much in keeping with the positivist tradition in mainstream motivational psychology, as typified in the *expectancy-value* frameworks discussed earlier (Section 2.1.1), and have led to the development of models of motivation in the SLA and general education fields that have good explanatory power and

widespread applicability to relevant populations and contexts. However, the pursuit of explanatory or predictive power means that linear models of motivation inevitably focus attention on a small number of key variables that can explain a significant proportion of the variance in learners' behaviour or performance – that is, such models are reductionist (cf. Section 1.2) and parsimonious (Section 2.1). They do not attempt to account for the complex multiplicity of internal, situational and temporal factors that may impinge on individual motivation, since incorporating too many variables clearly makes any linear model unwieldy and difficult to test empirically, and considerably weakens its explanatory power. Viewed critically therefore, linear models provide only a selective partial account of motivation and do not do justice to its complex reality.

Furthermore, in pursuing applicability to relevant populations and contexts, linear approaches to motivation focus attention only on generalisable types of learner in an idealised abstract sense – for example, the motivated or unmotivated learner; the intrinsically or extrinsically motivated learner; learners with low self-efficacy or with high linguistic self-confidence. Grounded in the psychometric tradition of assessing individual traits or differences, such approaches use measurement techniques and statistical procedures that make certain assumptions about the normal distribution of particular traits in a given population. In essence, the conceptual and empirical focus is on certain learner types who share similar scores and thus exhibit particular characteristics and behave in particular ways with particular statistically probable outcomes, and who are representative of such learner types found in all relevant populations in relevant contexts. From a critical perspective, a limitation of this approach is that it treats language learners as idealised abstractions or bundles of variables behaving and responding in theoretically predictable ways. As Bandura (2001: 2) comments rather wryly with regard to such computational models of mental and behavioural processes, 'it is not people but their componentised subpersonal parts that are orchestrating courses of action'. In other words, linear approaches to motivation cannot do full justice to the unique individuality, agency, intentionality and reflexive capacities of human beings as they engage in the process of language learning.

Another important aspect that is also given limited analysis in linear approaches to motivation is context. In Section 3.2, we noted the increasing recognition of contextual factors in the shift to more cognitive-*situated* perspectives on L2 motivation through the 1990s, mirroring a significant trend in mainstream motivational and educational psychology

(see Section 2.2). However, as Ushioda (2009) observes, L2 motivation studies that take a more 'situated' approach and consider contextual factors (relating for example to pedagogy, classroom environment, task design or cultural setting) tend to treat such factors as independent variables in particular linear models. In other words, context is conceptualised as a stable background variable that may influence individual motivation. We saw in Section 2.2 that in mainstream motivational psychology there is now a growing move away from this 'context as variable' perspective towards a dynamic integrated view of motivation, self and context, where context is conceived not in static terms but as a developing process which individuals are involved in shaping through their actions and responses. It is clear that a linear approach cannot capture the dynamic and mutually constitutive nature of the relationship between motivation and context.

4.1.2   A relational view of motivation, self and context

As Sealey and Carter (2004: 196) explain, a key difference between a linear and a relational approach is that a relational approach is not concerned with identifying 'variables' and tracing cause-effect relationships (e.g. how task performance impacts on self-efficacy or vice versa). It focuses attention instead on the evolving network or dynamic system of relations among relevant features, phenomena and processes – relations which are complex, unpredictable, non-linear and always unique, since every person and context are unique. From a relational perspective, the phenomenon of interest (e.g. motivation) is thus viewed not as a quantifiable 'variable' or individual difference characteristic, but as Sealey and Carter put it, 'as emergent from relations between human intentionality and the social world' (p. 206). As we will see later (Section 4.3), these notions of *emergentism* and *dynamic systems* now shaping L2 motivation theory have also begun to attract considerable interest and discussion across the field of applied linguistics and beyond (e.g. Ellis and Larsen-Freeman, 2006; Larsen-Freeman and Cameron, 2008a).

   In response to the shortcomings of linear approaches to L2 motivation, Ushioda (2009) has proposed a relational perspective that takes account of the organically evolving interactions among motivation, self and context. Her 'person-in-context relational view of motivation' puts explicit emphasis on the complex individuality of real persons, in contrast to the traditional focus on abstract language learners or language learner characteristics. As she says, for anyone engaged in learning a language, being a 'language learner' is likely to be just one aspect of

their social identity or sense of self. Other identities which may be relevant at various times to the motivational process and experience of L2 learning and use may include, for example, being Chinese (Spanish, American, etc.), or being a mother, a doctor, a graduate student, an immigrant, a football fan, a seasoned traveller, a wine expert, and so on; or being a member of desired 'imagined communities' with particular cultural capital or professional status (see for example Norton, 2001). Following Lantolf and Pavlenko (2001), Ushioda (2009) argues that where L2 motivation is concerned we need to understand second language learners as real people who are necessarily located in particular cultural and historical contexts, and whose motivation and identities shape and are shaped by these contexts.

Quote 4.1 Ushioda's person-in-context relational view of motivation

I mean a focus on real persons, rather than on learners as theoretical abstractions; a focus on the agency of the individual person as a thinking, feeling human being, with an identity, a personality, a unique history and background, a person with goals, motives and intentions; a focus on the interaction between this self-reflective intentional agent, and the fluid and complex system of social relations, activities, experiences and multiple micro- and macro-contexts in which the person is embedded, moves, and is inherently part of. My argument is that we need to take a relational (rather than linear) view of these multiple contextual elements, and view motivation as an organic process that emerges through this complex system of interrelations.

Ushioda (2009: 220)

From an analytical perspective, this kind of relational view of motivation presents significant challenges, since the unit of analysis must extend beyond the individual to embrace the complex interactions between the individual and multiple evolving contexts. In essence, the unit of analysis becomes 'person(s)-in-context(s)' since one cannot be dissociated from the other. Developing a practical strategy of enquiry for a person-in-context relational approach remains a key challenge, unless we can find a principled way of defining and delimiting what is relevant to 'context' for purposes of analysis. In her paper, Ushioda (2009) suggests that one strategy of enquiry may be to sharpen the focus on the micro-analysis of interactional data (e.g. teacher–student

talk) and thereby examine motivation as it evolves and emerges through the developing discourse, or as McGroarty (1998: 600) has suggested, 'as it is constructed and expressed in and through interaction' (e.g. see Richards, 2006). In particular, where language classroom talk is concerned, a key motivational concern is to what extent those participating in the interaction are encouraged or enabled to 'speak as themselves' (Legenhausen, 1999) with the particular real social identities they would like to express (e.g. as football fan or music lover), or to what extent they are positioned in the talk as merely 'language learners' who are practising certain structures or trying to produce target-like forms without engaging their own motivation and identities in what they are saying. The analysis of classroom talk (teacher–student, student–student) may offer a focused way of exploring emergent motivation among persons-in-context, where what is relevant to the developing 'context' can be clearly defined and delimited in terms of what is explicitly oriented to or invoked in the interaction. This latter view of 'context' is a basic principle in conversational analysis, which, according to Heritage (2005: 111), seeks to show context and identity as 'inherently locally produced, incrementally developed and, by extension, as transformable at any moment' (see also Duranti and Goodwin, 1992). (For a recent study of classroom motivation that has applied conversation analysis, see Preston, 2009.)

4.2 The L2 Motivational Self System

The 'L2 Motivational Self System' was proposed by Dörnyei in 2005 as a comprehensive synthesis of past research on the main dimensions of language learning motivation (for a detailed description, see Dörnyei, 2009a). It represents a major reformation of previous motivational thinking by its explicit utilisation of psychological theories of the self, yet the theory's roots are firmly set in previous research in the L2 field. L2 motivation researchers have always believed that a foreign language is more than a mere communication code that can be learnt similarly to other academic subjects, and have therefore typically adopted paradigms that linked the L2 to the individual's 'personal core,' forming an important part of one's identity.

   The construct has grown out of the combined effect of two significant theoretical developments, one taking place in the L2 field, the other in mainstream psychology. Within L2 research, as we saw in

Section 3.1.1, *integrativeness/integrative motivation* had been an influential concept ever since it was first introduced by Gardner and Lambert in 1959, but over the past decade there has been an increasing concern about several aspects of its theoretical basis and explanatory power in varied learning environments. Dörnyei (2005) sees his model as a natural progression from Gardner's theory, addressing many of these concerns. The second theoretical development took place in psychological research of the self, leading to a gradual convergence of self theories and motivation theories in mainstream psychology. Let us look at these two antecedent sources more closely, starting with the latter.

4.2.1   Possible selves and future self-guides

Over the past two decades, self theorists have become increasingly interested in the active, dynamic nature of the self-system, gradually replacing traditionally static forms of self-representations with a self-system that mediates and controls ongoing behaviour (for a recent review, see Leary, 2007). This move has resulted in the introduction of a number of self-specific mechanisms that link the self with action (e.g. self-regulation or mental schemata), and thus an intriguing interface has been formed between personality psychology and motivational psychology. One of the most powerful mechanisms intended to make this link explicit and describe how the self regulates behaviour by setting goals and expectations was proposed by Markus and Nurius (1986) in their theory that centred around the concept of 'possible selves'.

   Possible selves are visions of the self in a future state; they represent the individuals' ideas of what they *might* become, what they *would like* to become, and what they are *afraid of* becoming (Markus and Nurius, 1986), and thus they denote a unique self-dimension that refers to future rather than current self states (see Concept 4.1). The notion of possible selves concerns how people conceptualise their as-yet un-realised potential, and as such, it also draws on hopes, wishes and fantasies. In this sense, possible selves act as 'future self-guides', reflecting a dynamic, forward-pointing conception that can explain how someone is moved from the present toward the future. Thus, as Segal (2006) explains, Markus and Nurius's conceptualisation meant, in effect, that social psychology was taking on the subtleties of psychodynamic processes that are so prominent in psychoanalytic theory: 'Markus and Nurius essentially married a social-cognitive instrument with a projective. Future possible selves are fantasy tempered by expectation (or expectations leavened by fantasy)' (p. 82).

Concept 4.1   **Oyserman and James's (2009: 373) definition of possible selves**

Possible selves are the future-oriented aspects of self-concept, the positive and negative selves that one expects to become or hopes to avoid becoming. They are the desired and feared images of the self already in a future state – the 'clever' self who passed the algebra test, the 'unhealthy' self who failed to lose weight or quit smoking, and the 'off-track' self who became pregnant. Individuals possess multiple positive and negative possible selves. These possible selves are often linked with differing social roles and identities, so that possible selves are likely to develop in domains relevant to current life tasks such as being a student, a parent or a life partner. Possible selves also differ along a continuum of detail; some possible selves are filled with vivid detail of how, when, and in what way the possible self will be attained and what it will feel like to be that self in the future. Other possible selves are much simpler.

Let us underline in particular one aspect of Markus and Nurius's (1986) proposal that is central to the conception of possible selves yet which tends to be curiously ignored or overlooked in most work on the subject. Possible selves involve tangible *images* and *senses*; they are represented in the same imaginary and semantic way as the here-and-now self, that is, they are a *reality* for the individual – people can 'see' and 'hear' a possible self. As Markus and Ruvolo (1989) argue, by focusing on possible selves we are 'phenomenologically very close to the actual thoughts and feelings that individuals experience as they are in the process of motivated behaviour and instrumental action' (p. 217).

Quote 4.2 Markus on the genesis of possible self research

Our excitement with the notion of possible selves had multiple sources. Focusing on possible selves gave us license to speculate about the remarkable power of imagination in human life. We also had room to think about the importance of the self-structure as a dynamic interpretive matrix for thought, feeling, and action, and to begin to theorise about the role of sociocultural contexts in behaviour. Finally, the concept wove together our mutual interests in social psychology, social work, and clinical psychology.

Markus (2006: xi)

4.2.2   Ideal and ought selves

According to Tory Higgins (e.g. 1987, 1998), one type of possible self is particularly important with respect to guiding academic achievement, the learner's *ideal self*, as it concerns the attributes that one would ideally like to possess (i.e. representation of hopes, aspirations, or wishes). A complementary self-guide in Higgins's theory is the *ought self*, which refers to the representation of attributes that one believes one ought to possess (i.e. representation of someone else's sense of duties, obligations or moral responsibilities). Thus, the ideal self involves the individual's own vision for him or herself, while the ought self involves someone else's vision for the individual – the latter may therefore bear little resemblance to one's own desires or wishes or the possibility of ever attaining them.

Boyatzis and Akrivou (2006) highlight a potential source of confusion in the distinction between the ideal and the ought selves concerning the level of internalisation of the ought self. They argue that because various reference groups (to which every individual belongs) affect the individual by anticipatory socialisation or value induction, it is not always straightforward to decide at times of social pressure whether an ideal-like self state represents one's genuine dreams or whether it has been compromised by the desire for role conformity. Indeed, group norms, as their name suggests, impose a normative function on group members and because humans are social beings, most of us adhere to some extent to these norms (see Dörnyei, 2007a). This means that there is a pressure to internalise our ought selves to some extent, resulting in various degrees of integration. The graded internalisation of external motives has been well described in Deci and Ryan's (1985) self-determination theory (Section 2.1.3), offering an internalisation continuum of *external regulation → introjected regulation → identified regulation → integrated regulation*. At first sight, the first two types appear to be linked to the ought self and the second two to the ideal self, but where exactly is the boundary? We will come back to this question below when we look at the development of the two self dimensions (see also Noels, 2009).

How do future self-guides exert their motivational impact? Higgins's (1987, 1996) *self-discrepancy theory* postulates that people are motivated to reach a condition where their self-concept matches their personally relevant self-guides. In other words, motivation in this sense involves the desire to reduce the discrepancy between one's actual self and the projected behavioural standards of the ideal/ought selves. Thus, future

self-guides provide incentive, direction and impetus for action, and sufficient discrepancy between these and the actual self initiates distinctive self-regulatory strategies with the aim to reduce the discrepancy. In other words, future self-guides represent points of comparison to be reconciled through behaviour (Hoyle and Sherrill, 2006).

An important point to note is that although the ideal and ought selves are similar to each other in that they are both related to the attainment of a desired end-state, Higgins (1998) emphasises that the predilections associated with the two different types of future selves are motivationally distinct from each other: ideal self-guides have a *promotion* focus, concerned with hopes, aspirations, advancements, growth and accomplishments; whereas ought self-guides have a *prevention* focus, regulating the absence or presence of negative outcomes associated with failing to live up to various responsibilities and obligations. As Higgins adds, this distinction is in line with the age-old motivational principle that people approach pleasure and avoid pain.

4.2.3 Conditions for the motivating capacity of the ideal and ought selves

Several studies have found that although future self-guides have the capacity to motivate action by triggering the execution of self-regulatory mechanisms, this does not always happen automatically but depends on a number of conditions (e.g. Oyserman and James, 2009; Oyserman et al. 2006; Pizzolato, 2006; Yowell, 2002):

- The learner *has* a desired future self-image: people differ in how easily they can generate a successful possible self and therefore not everyone is expected to possess a developed ideal or ought self guide.
- The future self is sufficiently *different* from the current self: if there is no observable gap between current and future selves, no increased effort is felt necessary.
- The future self image is *elaborate* and *vivid*: people display significant individual differences in the vividness of their mental imagery (Richardson, 1994), and a possible self with insufficient specificity and detail may not be able to evoke the necessary motivational response.
- The future self image is perceived as *plausible*: possible selves are only effective insomuch as the individual does indeed perceive them as *possible*, that is, realistic within the person's individual circumstances. A sense of controllability – that is, the belief that one's action can

make a difference – is an essential prerequisite, because 'a highly unlikely possible self probably will have little relation to motivation' (MacIntyre et al., 2009b: 197).

- The future self image is *not* perceived as *comfortably certain*, that is, within one's grasp: the learner must believe that the possible self will *not* happen automatically as part of a seamless flow from present to future unless there is a marked increase in exerted effort. Taken together with the previous condition, Oyserman and James (2009) point out that the motivational value of possible selves has an inverted U-shaped function: effort is not exerted if the attainment of the future self is too unlikely or too likely.

- The future self image is in harmony – or at least does not clash – with the expectations of the learner's family, peers and other elements of the social environment: perceived social norms or group norms that are incongruent with the self image (e.g. 'language learning is girly') are obviously counterproductive, and so are ideal and ought self images that are in conflict with each other.

- The future self image is *regularly activated* in the learner's working self-concept: Hoyle and Sherrill (2006) argue that possible selves become relevant for behaviour only when they are primed, for example by various reminders and self-relevant stimuli.

- The future self image is accompanied by relevant and effective *procedural strategies* that act as a *roadmap* towards the goal: effective future self-guides need to come as part of a 'package', consisting of an imagery component and a repertoire of corresponding plans, scripts and self-regulatory strategies.

- A desired future self image is offset by a counteracting *feared possible self* in the same domain: maximal motivational effectiveness is achieved if the learner also has a vivid image about the *negative consequences* of failing to achieve the desired end-state.

These conditions offer a useful framework for developing some practical implications of motivation theory. We will come back to them in the next chapter (Section 5.3).

4.2.4   The construct of the L2 Motivational Self System

As we have mentioned earlier in this chapter and also in Section 3.1.1, a main source of inspiration for proposing the L2 Motivational Self

System involved the growing dissatisfaction with the concept of integrativeness/integrative motivation, which had been at the centre of L2 motivation research for several decades. One key issue in this respect was that the notion was originally conceptualised in relation to contact and identification with members of a specific L2 group, whereas subsequent research found that this was not fundamental to the motivational process in general but only in specific sociocultural contexts. This problem was amplified by the worldwide globalisation process and the growing dominance of Global/World English as an international language. As a result of these and other concerns – particularly the undertheorised nature of the concept of integrativeness from a cognitive psychological point of view (see Ushioda, 2006) – integrative motivation has played a rapidly diminishing role in L2 motivation research during the past decade, to the extent that currently few active motivation researchers would include the concept in their research paradigms.

Quote 4.3 Coetzee-Van Rooy on integrativeness and World English

In conclusion, I want to return to the question posed in the title of this paper: is the notion of integrativeness untenable for world Englishes speakers? Findings from a review of theoretical criticism as well as empirical projects suggest that the answer is: Yes, the notion of integrativeness is untenable for second-language learners in world Englishes contexts. Researchers who use the construct should at least interrogate its use within the context in which the second language is learnt and the extent of multidimensionality of the learner's identity.

Coetzee-Van Rooy (2006: 447)

As Dörnyei (2009a) explains, the actual trigger for his new model was provided by the results of a large-scale motivation survey in Hungary that involved over 13,000 students over a period of 12 years (for an overview, see Dörnyei et al., 2006) and which focused on attitudes towards five target languages, English, German, French, Italian and Russian. In this study a variable that was originally identified as integrativeness played a principal role in determining the extent of a

learner's overall motivational disposition. Upon considering the theoretical implications of the results, Dörnyei decided that this factor actually tapped into a broader dimension, the learner's 'ideal L2 self', and thus the link was created with L2 motivation and future self guides. This initial insight led to the proposal of the 'L2 Motivational Self System' in 2005, which was made up of the following three components:

1. *Ideal L2 Self*, which is the L2-specific facet of one's 'ideal self'. If the person we would like to become speaks an L2, the *'ideal L2 self'* is a powerful motivator to learn the L2 because of the desire to reduce the discrepancy between our actual and ideal selves. Traditional integrative and internalised instrumental motives would typically belong to this component.

2. *Ought-to L2 Self*, which concerns the attributes that one believes one *ought to* possess to meet expectations and to *avoid* possible negative outcomes. This dimension corresponds to Higgins's ought self and thus involves the more extrinsic (i.e. less internalised) types of instrumental motives (see Concept 4.2).

3. *L2 Learning Experience*, which concerns situated, 'executive' motives related to the immediate learning environment and experience (e.g. the impact of the teacher, the curriculum, the peer group or the experience of success).

As can be seen, the first two components of the model draw directly on possible selves theory, whereas the third component is conceptualised at a different level from the two self-guides and was added to represent the potential influence of the students' learning environment – after all, one of the main achievements of the new wave of motivational studies in the 1990s was the recognition of the motivational impact of the various facets of the classroom learning situation, such as the teacher, the curriculum and the learner group (cf. the discussion of the 'cognitive-situated period in Section 3.2). For some language learners the initial motivation to learn a language does not come from internally or externally generated self images but rather from successful engagement with the actual language learning process, for example because they discover that they are good at it. Thus, to sum up, the L2 Motivational Self System suggests that there are three primary sources of the motivation to learn a foreign/second language – the learner's vision of oneself as an effective L2 speaker, the social pressure coming from the learner's environment and positive learning experiences.

Concept 4.2   **The two types of instrumental motivation**

In conceptualising the ideal/ought self distinction, Higgins (1987, 1998) highlighted a crucial difference between the two dimensions, a contrasting *approach/avoid* tendency: ideal self-guides have a *promotion* focus, concerned with hopes, aspirations, advancements, growth and accomplishments (i.e. approaching a desired end-state); whereas ought-to self-guides have a *prevention* focus, regulating the absence or presence of negative outcomes, concerned with safety, responsibilities and obligations (i.e. avoidance of a feared end-state). With this distinction in mind, we can see that traditionally conceived 'instrumentality/instrumental motivation' mixes up these two aspects: when our idealised image is associated with being professionally successful, 'instrumental' motives with a promotion focus (e.g. to learn English for the sake of professional/career advancement) are related to the Ideal L2 Self. In contrast, instrumental motives with a prevention focus (e.g. to study in order not to fail an exam or not to disappoint one's parents) are part of the Ought-to L2 Self.

Thus, from a self perspective the concept of 'instrumentality/ instrumental motivation' needs to be divided into two distinct types, 'instrumentality-promotion' and 'instrumentality-prevention'. Interestingly, a study by Kyriacou and Benmansour (1997) proposed a data-based five-factor construct that seems to reflect this duality well as it comprises a component labelled 'long-term instrumental motivation', focusing on acquiring the L2 to enhance one's future professional career, and also a 'short-term instrumental motivation' factor, focusing on getting good grades.

Over the past few years several quantitative studies have been conducted to specifically test and validate the L2 Motivational Self System in a variety of learning environments (e.g. Csizér and Kormos, 2009; MacIntyre et al., 2009b; Ryan, 2009b; Taguchi et al., 2009). The emerging picture is – luckily – straightforward: all the findings reported in the literature to date provide confirmation for Dörnyei's theory. The studies which specifically tested the relationship between Integrativeness and the Ideal L2 Self produced an average correlation of well over 0.50 between the two variables across the various sub-samples, leaving no doubt that the two concepts are closely related. Moreover, in these studies the Ideal L2 Self was consistently found to explain the criterion measures better than Integrativeness (typically explaining more than 40 per cent of the variance, which is an exceptionally high figure in motivation studies). Finally, when instrumentality

was divided into two types in accordance with Higgins's (1987, 1998) promotion/prevention distinction (see Concept 4.2), all the studies found – in line with the theory – higher correlations of the *Ideal L2 Self* with *Instrumentality-promotion* than with *Instrumentality-prevention*, while the *Ought-to L2 Self* displayed the reverse pattern. Given that the promotion and the prevention aspects were also largely independent from each other, we can conclude that traditionally conceived 'instrumental motivation' can indeed be divided into two distinct types, one relating to the Ideal L2 Self, the other to the Ought-to L2 Self.

Quote 4.4   Macintyre, Mackinnon and Clément on possible selves and the L2 Motivational Self System

The notion of possible selves is an interesting approach and deserves serious study in SLA. The expansive literature on integrative motivation can be a solid basis on which to build the literature on the L2 Motivational Self System, knowing that some key questions already have been answered. As a conceptual scheme, the L2 Motivational Self System, including the concept of possible selves, holds a great deal of promise. The strength of the concept of possible selves lies in its focus on the learner as applicable to education research contexts, its focus on who individuals plan to use language with apart from a specific cultural group, and its ability to integrate multiple, sometimes conflicting motives. . . . It will be necessary to be cautious as we move forward to ensure that we advance our understanding rather than merely rephrasing it. If we avoid the temptation to throw out the baby with the bathwater, the future of language learning motivation research looks very interesting indeed.

MacIntyre et al. (2009a: 58)

4.3   Motivation from a complex dynamic systems perspective

When we talk about 'complex dynamic systems' within the socio-dynamic phase of L2 motivation research, we use the terms 'complex' and 'dynamic' in a specific sense, referring to *complexity theory* and especially one key strand within this theory, *dynamic systems theory*. These approaches have been specifically developed to describe development in complex, dynamic systems (see Concept 4.3) that consist of multiple

interconnected parts and in which the multiple interferences between the components' own trajectories result in non-linear, emergent changes in the overall system behaviour (for overviews, see e.g. de Bot et al., 2007; Dörnyei, 2009b; Ellis and Larsen-Freeman, 2006; Larsen-Freeman and Cameron, 2008a; van Geert, 2008).

Concept 4.3   **Complex dynamic systems and the double pendulum**

A system can be considered dynamic if it has two or more elements that are (a) interlinked with each other and (b) which also change in time. These two simple conditions can result in highly complex system behaviour – this is well illustrated by the bizarre movement of the 'double pendulum', which can be seen as the simplest dynamic system, consisting of only two components (the two arms of the pendulum): as we move the upper arm of the pendulum, the lower arm will soon go 'wild', moving all over the place, which in turn upsets the initially regular movement of the upper arm, which causes further havoc in the whole system. Thus, in dynamic systems the ongoing interferences between the multiple system components' developmental trajectories make the system's behaviour highly complex and unpredictable.

We have already mentioned briefly in the previous chapters (in Sections 2.2.2 and 3.4.4) that a situated and process-oriented account of motivation inevitably leads us to a dynamic conception of the notion of motivation that integrates the various factors related to the learner, the learning task and the learning environment into one complex system whose ultimate outcome can be seen as the regulator of learning behaviour. How do we conceptualise motivation within this paradigm? Traditionally, motivation was discussed within the framework of *individual differences* (IDs), which are conceived to be traitlike attributes that mark a person as a distinct and unique human being. Of course, people differ from each other in respect of a vast number of traits, of which ID research has traditionally focused only on those personal characteristics that are enduring, that are assumed to apply to everybody, and on which people differ by degree. In other words, ID factors concern stable and systematic deviations from a normative blueprint (Dörnyei, 2005).

IDs have been well established in SLA research as a relatively straightforward concept: they have usually been seen as background learner variables that modify and personalise the overall trajectory of the language acquisition processes; thus, in many ways, IDs have been

typically thought of as the systematic part of the background 'noise' in SLA. However, In a recent overview of the psychology of SLA, Dörnyei (2009b) has proposed that the seemingly comprehensive and straightforward picture of IDs being stable and monolithic learner traits that concern distinct learner characteristics is part of an idealised narrative that may not hold up against scientific scrutiny. The core of the problem is that if we take a situated and process-oriented perspective of SLA, we cannot fail to realise that the various learner attributes display a considerable amount of variation from time to time and from situation to situation – in the way as we have argued in previous chapters motivation also does.

The fact that IDs are not independent of contextual and temporal variation considerably undermines the traditional view of IDs as being robust attributes that can be generalised across situations and time, but we also face a further complication: most human attributes are higher-order mental characteristics and are as such multicomponential, made up of the dynamic interaction of several lower layers of constituents (Kosslyn and Smith, 2000). Accordingly, many (if not most) learner characteristics mentioned in the literature involve at one level or another the cooperation of some components that are of a different nature from the general character of the attribute in question. For example, motivational factors may involve some important cognitive or emotional elements, thus creating 'hybrid' attributes. We have already mentioned the existence of such blended, 'cross-attributional' cooperation briefly in several places in this book, and in the following sections we will elaborate on this and give detailed illustrations.

Quote 4.5   MacIntyre, Burns and Jessome on the need to extend the ID paradigm

Much of the previous literature on WTC has presented the concept as an internal attribute, an individual difference variable affecting the communication process and an outcome of language learning. Although we believe that an individual differences approach retains its value, perhaps it is time to widen the scope of the WTC concept to more explicitly take into account moment-to-moment dynamics within the social situation and the key role played by the communication partner(s).

MacIntyre et al. (in press)

4.3.1 A tripartite framework of learner characteristics

Given the dynamics of learner characteristics and the complex and interlocking nature of higher-order cognitive human functioning described above, is there any justification for talking about distinct 'motivational' processes? That is, if we look at the tapestry of human mental characteristics as an interwoven and fluid system, does it make any sense to distinguish subsets of these characteristics and talk about, say, motivational or cognitive factors? In Dörnyei's (2009b) view, the answer is affirmative, because from the phenomenological (i.e. experiential) perspective at least three broad distinctions can be made, between motivation, cognition and affect (i.e. emotions). They can be differentiated from each other because they 'feel' different: if we want something, we have the distinct experience of 'wanting' it and we can even grade this experience in terms of its strength (e.g. *I can hardly wait . . .* or *I really-really-really want it!*). People typically have no problem with distinguishing such a motivational experience from emotional experiences such as feeling happy or sad or angry, which are also gradable. Finally, cognition/thoughts also have their distinct experiential feel, which is revealed in phrases such as 'cold intellect', capturing a key feature of cognition, namely that it has no valence (i.e. it is not gradable in terms of intensity either in the positive or negative directions).

Thus, according to Dörnyei (2009b), the phenomenological distinctness of motivation, cognition and affect warrant their use as primary organising principles of learner-based characteristics, but in line with a complex dynamic systems approach, each should be viewed as dynamic subsystems that have continuous and complex interaction with each other and which cannot exist in isolation from one another (see also Dörnyei, 2010b). As Buck (2005: 198) has succinctly put it: 'In their fully articulated forms, emotions imply cognitions imply motives imply emotions, and so on.' Interestingly, scholars have traditionally divided mental processes along this tripartite structure. Scherer (1995) explains that already Plato proposed that the human soul contained three components: *cognition* (corresponding to thought and reason and associated with the ruling class of philosophers, kings and statesmen), *emotion/passion* (corresponding to anger or spirited higher ideal emotions and associated with the warrior class), and *conation/motivation* (associated with impulses, cravings, desires and associated with the lower classes). This division into 'an appetitive part that produces various irrational desires, a spirited part that produces anger

and other feelings, and a reasoning part that permits reflection and rationality' (Parrott 2004: 7) has traditionally been referred to as the 'trilogy of mind'.

> **Quote 4.6** Scherer on the significance of the 'trilogy of mind'
>
> Since people seem to like to think in threes, so the tripartite soul stayed with us till today. It seems to be the single most important classification principle in the field of psychology, judging from subdivisions in textbooks and professional associations, from journal titles, and from perceived affiliations. This is true despite the fact that the distinction may sometimes get overshadowed by a dominant ideology – as during the heyday of behaviorism, or in periods of cognitive imperialism.
>
> Scherer (1995: 3)

4.3.2   Motivational conglomerates

In the light of the above, we have come to believe that rather than following the traditional practice of trying to isolate distinct motives and examine their operation in isolation, a more fruitful way forward would involve taking a *systemic* approach by identifying higher-order 'motivation conglomerates' that also include cognitive and affective factors and which act as 'wholes'. We agree with Lubinski and Webb (2003), who conclude that examining learner attributes individually is often challenging and unfruitful, because the manner in which each operates depends on the full constellation of personal characteristics (for an illustration, see Quote 4.7). In the following, therefore, we are going to describe four constellations that might serve as templates when looking for situated motivational conglomerates in specific studies: *interest*, *motivational flow*, *motivational task processing* and *future self-guides*.

> **Quote 4.7** MacIntyre, Burns and Jessome on the dynamic cooperation of learner and learning situation
>
> Arguably, the key implication drawn from the diaries is that the situations in which learners are most willing to communicate are not radically different from those in which they are least willing. Subtle features of the learner or the context can lead a student to speak up or remain quiet, and

the psychological situation can change rapidly. It might be helpful for teachers to approach students as if they lived in a state of ambivalence toward learning – experiencing both reasons to approach and reasons to avoid speaking the L2.

MacIntyre et al. (in press)

Interest

The term 'interest' in the psychological literature is used in a variety of contexts and meanings, usually referring to a broader concept than, for example, the 'interest in foreign languages' category in Gardner's (1985) integrative motivation construct. In many ways, interest is a prime example of a motivational conglomerate: on the one hand, it has impeccable motivational credentials, as it features in expectancy-value theories (Section 2.1.1) under the rubric of 'intrinsic/interest value' denoting the anticipated enjoyment of engaging in the activity (Eccles, 2009), and intrinsic interest is also a central component of self-determination theory (Section 2.1.3), referring to the inherent satisfaction and enjoyment of a behaviour (for a recent discussion, see La Guardia, 2009). On the other hand, besides its obvious motivational connotations, the notion of interest also involves a salient cognitive aspect – the curiosity in and engagement with a specific domain – as well as a prominent affective dimension concerning the joy associated with this engagement.

Quote 4.8 Renninger, Bachrach and Posey on interest

Interest … describes both a state of heightened affect and a developing predisposition to reengage work with particular domain content (e.g. music, science). Interest is identified based on learner's feelings, principled knowledge, and value for particular domain content, and evolves over time through interactions with the others and objects/activities in the environment.

Renninger et al. (2008: 463)

In an influential analysis of interest, Hidi and Renninger (2006) specifically state that 'interest includes both affective and cognitive components as separate but interacting systems, a position supported

by neuroscientific research' (p. 112). As they explain, 'Typically, the affective component of interest describes positive emotions accompanying engagement, whereas the cognitive component refers to perceptual and representational activities related to engagement' (ibid.). According to the authors, the dynamic nature of the concept is particularly salient in its development (p. 112):

> [I]nterest is the outcome of an interaction between a person and a particular content. The potential for interest is in the person but the content and the environment define the direction of interest and contribute to its development. Thus, other individuals, the organization of the environment, and a person's own efforts, such as self-regulation, can support interest development.

Recently, Renninger (2009) has further analysed the change in a person's phase of interest for content over time and concluded that this development was dependent on feelings as well as stored knowledge and stored values. Thus, interest in this sense 'is both a cognitive and affective motivational variable that develops, is experienced-based, and is not necessarily age-related' (p. 206). Lubinski and Webb (2003) have painted a similarly complex picture when they described interest as a broad orientational dimension that has been found to be defined by six general interest themes: 'realistic' (working with things and tools), 'investigative' (scientific pursuits), 'artistic' (aesthetic pursuits and self-expression), 'social' (contact with and helping people), 'enterprising' (buying, marketing, and selling), and 'conventional' (office practices and well-structured tasks).

Motivational flow

The experience of 'flow' (Csikszentmihalyi, 1990) is a theoretically intriguing and intuitively appealing phenomenon, entailing a state of intensive involvement in and focused concentration on a task that feels so absorbing that people often compare it to being outside everyday reality. This state is, however, not the kind of passive spiritual experience that some people can evoke through meditation; on the contrary, flow is experienced while people are at their most active or creative, being engaged in performing an absorbing task. Thus, flow can be seen as a heightened level of motivated task engagement; in many ways it is the optimal task experience. It happens when, faced with a challenging activity, people are fully aware of what needs to be done and how, and at the same time they are confident that the task is do-able and their skills are sufficient to succeed. An often mentioned feature of a

fully-fledged flow experience is that the extent of absorption can be such that people even lose self-consciousness and track of time. While this may sound like science fiction fantasy, all we need to do is observe children (and even adults) playing computer games to realise that flow is a very real phenomenon.

Quote 4.9 Csikszentmihalyi on flow

Artists, athletes, composers, dancers, scientists, and people from all walks of life, when they describe how it feels when they are doing something that is worth doing for its own sake, use terms that are interchangeable in their minutest details. This unanimity suggests that order in consciousness produces a very specific experiential state, so desirable that one wishes to replicate it as often as possible. To this state we have given the name of 'flow,' using a term that many respondents used in their interviews to explain what the optimal experience felt like.

Csikszentmihalyi (1988: 29)

In a pioneering study on the role of flow in SLA, Egbert (2003) found that the task conditions under which flow occurs can be organised along four dimensions: (1) there is a perceived balance of task challenge and participant skills during the task, (2) the task offers opportunities for intense concentration and the participants' attention is focused on the pursuit of clear task goals, (3) the participants find the task intrinsically interesting or authentic, and (4) the participants perceive a sense of control over the task process and outcomes. These underlying dimensions display a balanced mixture of motivational, cognitive and affective constituents (see also Guastello et al., 1999). While flow is usually discussed under the motivation rubric as a specific type of intrinsic motivation (explained by the experience of enjoyment that is one key feature of flow), it is fundamentally determined by cognitive factors such as the appraisal of the challenge of the activity; the self-appraisal of the level of the individual's skills and competence involved in the activity; a firm sense of control over the completion of the task; clarity about the task goals; and focused attention.

Motivational task processing

Looking at the motivational basis of student performance on learning tasks is probably the most situated lens we can adopt to study the
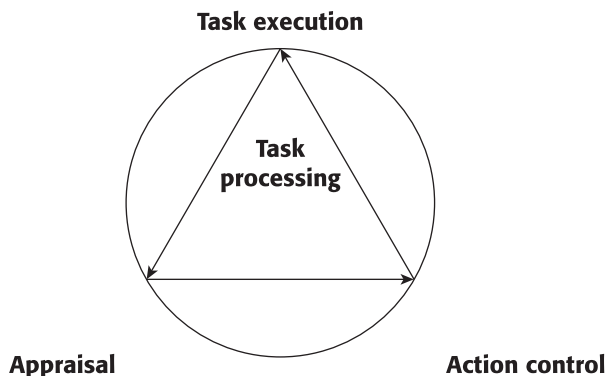
Figure 4.1   Schematic representation of the three mechanisms making up the motivational task processing system

motivational dimension of learning behaviours. In order to account for the state motivation that energises the learners' moment-to-moment task participation, we need to examine how the participating learners process the various motivational stimuli they encounter and, as a result, how they activate certain necessary motivational strategies. Dörnyei (2003a) has proposed a simple model to describe the dynamics of this ongoing appraisal and response process that involves the learners continuously monitoring and evaluating how well they are doing in a task, and then making possible amendments if something seems to be going amiss. Thus, this *task processing system* consists of three interrelated mechanisms: *task execution*, *appraisal* and *action control* (see Figure 4.1). *Task appraisal* refers to the learner's continuous processing of the multitude of stimuli coming from the environment regarding the progress made toward the action outcome, comparing the actual performance with the predicted or hoped-for ones or with the likely performance that alternative action sequences would offer. *Action control* processes denote self-regulatory mechanisms that are called into force in order to enhance, scaffold or protect learning-specific action; active use of such mechanisms may 'save' the action when ongoing monitoring reveals that progress is slowing, halting or backsliding.

In a recent study, Dörnyei and Tseng (2009) used structural equation modelling to validate the proposed construct, and confirmed the circular relationship of the three components: signals from the appraisal system concerning task execution trigger the need to activate relevant action control strategies, which in turn further facilitate the execution process. Thus, a process that is primarily motivational in

nature relies heavily on a cognitive appraisal component. Interestingly, the inclusion of appraisal in broader non-cognitive constructs is not unique to this example because, for example, most theoretical conceptualisations of emotion contain a cognitive appraisal component that is responsible for the evaluation of the situation that evokes an emotional response (Lewis, 2005).

Future self-guides

Although earlier in this chapter (in Section 4.2) we discussed primarily the motivational capacity of future self-guides, let us highlight here the fact that possible selves present broad, overarching constellations that blend together motivational, cognitive and affective areas. Already the originator of the concept, Hazel Markus (2006), pointed out that the possible self-structure could be seen as a 'dynamic interpretive matrix for thought, feeling and action' (p. xi), and MacIntyre et al. (2009a) also highlight the emotional aspect of possible selves, because without a strong tie to the learner's emotional system, possible selves exist as 'cold cognition, and therefore lack motivational potency' (p. 47). As they further explain, 'When emotion is a prominent feature of a possible self, including a strong sense of fear, hope, or even obligation, a clear path exists by which to influence motivation and action' (ibid.).

   Then, in Section 4.2.3 we discussed the prerequisites for the motivational capacity of future self-guides, and a closer look at the list of necessary conditions reveals that the effective functioning of these self-guides is dependent on the operation of several underlying cognitive components, most notably the learners' self-appraisal of their capabilities and evaluation of the affordances of their personal circumstances in order to anchor their vision in a sense of realistic expectations. As Pizzolato (2006: 59) puts it, 'The relation between what students want to become and what students actually become may be mediated by what students feel they are able to become.' In addition, learners also need a repertoire of task-related strategies that are activated by the priming of the ideal L2 self. Thus, effective future self-guides need to come as part of a 'package', consisting of an imagery/vision component that activates appropriate emotions and is cued to a variety of appropriate plans, scripts and self-regulatory strategies. Because of the integrated functioning of such diverse components, we would suggest that this motivation–cognition–emotion amalgam can be seen as the ultimate motivational conglomerate.

4.3.3   Concluding remarks on the complex dynamic systems view of motivation

How can we summarise the essence of a complex dynamic systems view of motivation? Perhaps the most important aspect of this approach is to find the right level of abstraction for looking at motivation in any given situation. Traditionally, we have tried to break down motivation to the smallest possible constituents, hoping that these motives would be 'pure' components that can then serve as common denominators for all motivational phenomena. We have argued above that this approach – which was at the heart of the 'individual differences paradigm' – has by and large failed, because the dynamic complexity and interference of mental processes and attributes do not allow us to meaningfully distinguish more than three main dimensions: motivation, cognition and affect. We believe that all the learner attributes discussed in the literature form different conglomerates made up of these three constituents of the 'trilogy of the mind'. The task, then, is to find the level of analysis that captures the right combination of these three ingredients in a given situation – what might be true of emigrant women learning English in Canada is not likely to hold in the same form amongst, say, Japanese learners of English studying in a junior high school in Osaka.

Thus, the key issue is the level of abstraction of the examination, that is, how wide we open our investigative lenses in a particular study. How can we identify the 'right' level? This will be a central topic to address in Section III of this book, which focuses on researching motivation. Let us conclude here with one important observation. It seems to us that effective combination patterns of motivation, cognition and affect have a great deal of intuitive salience for non-specialists; folk wisdom on motivation often correctly identifies the right level of cooperation of these components, which is why concepts such as 'interest' and 'vision' are intuitively appealing not just to researchers but also to laypeople. Even a relatively newly identified conglomerate such as 'flow' has immediately caught the imagination of the public, making Mihaly Csikszentmihalyi not only a world-famous psychologist but also a bestselling author of popular non-fiction.

If it is indeed the case that effective motivation–cognition–affect combinations are perceivable by non-specialists, this is promising news for researchers. It suggests that qualitative exploratory investigations of language learners' self-reports might contain sufficient clues about the right angle to motivation and motivated behaviour to adopt. The dynamic systems approach predicts that no behavioural phenomenon

has a single explanation – writing a book like this, for example, may have been energised by a number of diverse factors such as our interest in the topic, our expectation of success, our perceived competence in writing and enjoying it, the dynamics of our collaboration, the academic pressure to maintain our reputation, a sabbatical leave on offer that needed to be meaningfully filled, our personal needs to produce neatly bound final products, the desire to help our students, financial considerations, an invitation from the publisher, and so on. All these and many other potential motives might have contributed to producing the final outcome, but only a carefully executed deep interview study would have the chance to get to the bottom of this. Thus, all we need to do is ask the right questions! (For further discussion, see Section 9.2.)

II Motivation and language teaching

Motivation in practice: strategies and approaches

This chapter will...

- summarise the main areas where the conscious enhancement of student motivation is a realistic option and outline the strategic arsenal available for language teachers;
- discuss the importance of developing students' motivation from within and promoting motivational self-regulation;
- present a new approach to motivating language learners based on the development of future self-guides.

In Section II, we turn our attention to the interaction between motivation research and classroom practice and examine (a) how the findings of motivation research may benefit language teachers in their day-to-day classroom practice, and (b) what directions for research the analysis of classroom practice may raise. In this chapter we will begin by considering the extent to which theoretical and research insights can lead to practical recommendations for motivating students in the language classroom and, by extension, beyond the classroom as students engage in various forms of independent learning. We will then discuss the nature and scope of motivational strategies available to teachers. The purpose of motivational strategies is to consciously generate and enhance student motivation, as well as maintain ongoing motivated behaviour and protect it from distracting and/or competing action tendencies. An interesting question is to what extent the business of motivating students is regarded as an integral dimension of effective teaching practice, alongside various other procedural skills in classroom instruction and management, or to what extent motivational

teaching practice constitutes a distinctive approach to teaching. A separate but related issue is how teachers can negotiate the delicate balance between promoting or socialising student motivation on the one hand (i.e. fostering healthy forms of internalised motivation), and controlling or regulating it on the other (i.e. creating teacher-dependent patterns of learner behaviour and compliance). In the final part of this chapter, we will examine how Dörnyei's (2005, 2009a) L2 Motivational Self System opens up interesting new strategic approaches that focus on helping students to develop and sustain visions of their ideal language selves.

5.1   From theory and research to classroom practice

Although no one would doubt that an increasing understanding of student motivation can have significant practical implications, it is questionable whether motivation research in general has reached a level of sophistication that would allow scholars to translate research results into straightforward educational recommendations. The crux of the problem is that while there are many effective motivational principles and guidelines that can help practitioners, these principles do not add up to a coherent theory. Moreover, as we have noted in Section I, there is growing recognition across mainstream motivational psychology and the L2 motivation field that processes of motivation cannot be divorced from complex socio-contextual factors. In practical terms, this means that any pedagogical recommendations deriving from empirical research are not directly generalisable to all classroom situations and, as with other aspects of instructional methodology, need to be adapted in ways that are appropriate to the local learning context (Holliday, 1994).

By context, we mean not simply the broad sociocultural context (e.g. English language education in Japan or Argentina), but also the unique micro-culture, history and social dynamics of a particular classroom, or of other kinds of learning context such as self-access centres, virtual classrooms, distance learning or other independent learning settings.

How often have we heard teachers say, for example, that pedagogical strategies that seem to work well with one group of learners they teach prove ineffective with another? For these reasons, the most educational researchers can do at present is to raise teachers' 'motivational awareness'

by providing them with a menu of potentially useful insights and suggestions from which they can select according to their actual priorities and concerns, and the characteristics and composition of their students. Surprisingly, however, it is only really within the last 10 to 15 years that this kind of explicit concern with praxis has become established in the motivation literature in language learning as well as the broader field of educational psychology.

In a review of studies examining beginning teachers' perceptions of problems they face, Veenman (1984) found that teachers ranked problems about *motivating pupils* as the second most serious source of difficulty (the first being maintaining classroom discipline), preceding other obviously important issues such as the effective use of different teaching methods, a knowledge of the subject matter and the effective use of textbooks and curriculum guides. The question of how student motivation can be increased remains a prevailing issue for seasoned practitioners as well, since student lethargy and non-achievement norms (or 'norms of mediocrity') in the classroom are regularly reported to be basic hindrances to effective teaching (Daniels, 1994). In the light of this, it is hard to believe that until the mid-1990s there had been no serious attempts in the L2 literature to design motivational strategies for classroom application. With the shift from social psychological to more cognitive-situated perspectives in the 1990s, the increased focus on classroom motivation led to a number of publications on motivational techniques (e.g. Alison and Halliwell, 2002; Brown, 1994; Chambers, 1999; Cranmer, 1996; Dörnyei, 1994a; Dörnyei and Csizér, 1998; Oxford and Shearin, 1994; Williams and Burden, 1997), with Dörnyei's (2001b) *Motivational Strategies in the Language Classroom* being the most comprehensive summary (for two forthcoming relevant works, see Dörnyei and Kubanyiova, in preparation; Hadfield and Dörnyei, in preparation). However, the amount of research devoted to the question of motivating learners remains rather meagre relative to the total amount of research on L2 motivation, with just a few studies appearing in recent years (e.g. Bernaus and Gardner, 2008; Cheng and Dörnyei, 2007; Guilloteaux and Dörnyei, 2008; Jones et al., 2009).

If we look at general motivational psychology, the same tendency can be noted: far more research has been done in the past to identify various motives and validate motivational theories than to develop techniques to increase motivation. There have, however, been some valuable exceptions to this generalisation: examples of works that we have found useful include Anderman and Anderman (2010), Brophy (2004),

Gilbert (2002), Ginsberg and Wlodkowski (2000), Good and Brophy (2007), Jones and Jones (2009), McCombs and Miller (2007), Raffini (1993, 1996) and Schunk et al. (2007).

There is one common feature of most motivational approaches both in the L2 field and in educational psychology: they are based on the idealistic belief that 'all students are motivated to learn under the right conditions, and that you can provide these conditions in your class-room' (McCombs and Pope, 1994: vii). This assumption is, at best, arguable and, at worst, naïve. Realistically, it is highly unlikely that everybody can be motivated to learn anything. Yet, our belief is that *most* students' motivation can be 'worked on' and increased. Although rewards and punishments are too often the only tools present in the motivational arsenal of many teachers, the spectrum of other poten-tially more effective motivational strategies is so broad that it is hard to imagine that none of them would work. The following discussion of motivational strategies is intended to demonstrate the variety of differ-ent ways by which motivated learning behaviour can be promoted, with particular reference to the L2 learning context.

Quote 5.1 Brophy's down-to-earth perspective on student motivation

Flow experiences and other manifestations of intrinsic motivation are usu-ally considered ideal and thus held up to teachers as goals to achieve with their students. I agree that these motivational states should be developed in the classroom when it is feasible to do so. However, the goal of achiev-ing sustained intrinsic motivation is not realistic as a basis for planning your all-day, everyday motivational strategies, because classroom learning requires students to try to master a largely imposed curriculum while often being observed by peers and evaluated by teachers.

It is realistic, however, to expect (and help) your students to experience classroom activities as meaningful and worthwhile, and to try to get the intended learning benefits from them. You can encourage this by stimu-lating students to engage in classroom activities with motivation to learn, which they can do whether or not they find the activities intrinsically enjoyable. Developing your students' motivation to learn involves social-izing it as a general disposition as well as stimulating it situationally in the process of implementing lessons and learning activities.

Brophy (2004: 23)

5.2   A framework for motivational strategies

The central question in designing a practical framework of motivational strategies is to decide how to organise the long list of relevant motivational techniques into separate 'themes'. In the following, we first present a framework developed by Dörnyei (2001b; see Figure 5.1), which was based on the process-oriented model by Dörnyei and Ottó (1998) (Section 3.3.3). This model offers an important advantage over other potential organising principles, namely *comprehensiveness*. Following through the motivational process from the initial arousal of the motivation to the completion and evaluation of the motivated action seems more reasonable than making somewhat arbitrary decisions about selecting certain central themes and building the material around them. The key units in this process-oriented organisation include:

- *Creating the basic motivational conditions*, which involves setting the scene for the effective use of motivational strategies.
- *Generating student motivation*, corresponding roughly to the preactional phase in the model.
- *Maintaining and protecting motivation*, corresponding to the actional phase.
- *Encouraging positive self-evaluation*, corresponding to the postactional phase.

After discussing these four motivational dimensions in some detail (each in a separate section), we will summarise the practical teaching applications of the L2 Motivational Self System (Section 4.2). This theory opened up a whole new avenue for promoting student motivation by means of increasing the elaborateness and vividness of self-relevant imagery in the learners, thereby creating in them an attractive vision of their ideal language self. Throughout the chapter, we will include many practical examples to illustrate the wide scope of motivational techniques potentially available to teachers, but it is not our purpose here to provide an exhaustive taxonomy of strategies (for a comprehensive, illustrated discussion, see Dörnyei, 2001b; Dörnyei and Kubanyiova, in preparation).

5.2.1   Creating the basic motivational conditions

Motivational strategies cannot be employed successfully in a 'motivational vacuum' – certain preconditions must be in place before any

Creating the basic motivational conditions

- Appropriate teacher behaviours
- A pleasant and supportive atmosphere in the classroom
- A cohesive learner group with appropriate group norms

Encouraging positive retrospective self-evaluation

- Promoting motivational attributions
- Providing motivational feedback
- Increasing learner satisfaction
- Offering rewards and grades in a motivating manner

Motivational teaching practice

Generating initial motivation

- Enhancing the learners' L2-related values and attitudes
- Increasing the learners' expectancy of success
- Increasing the learners' goal-orientedness
- Making the teaching materials relevant for the learners
- Creating realistic learner beliefs

Maintaining and protecting motivation

- Making learning stimulating and enjoyable
- Presenting tasks in a motivating way
- Setting specific learner goals
- Protecting the learners' self-esteem and increasing their self-confidence
- Allowing learners to maintain a positive social image
- Creating learner autonomy
- Promoting self-motivating strategies
- Promoting cooperation among the learners

Figure 5.1   **The components of Dörnyei's (2001a: 29) framework of motivational teaching practice in the L2 classroom**

further attempts to generate motivation can be effective. The most important of these motivational conditions are:

- appropriate teacher behaviours and a good relationship with the students;

- a pleasant and supportive atmosphere in the classroom;
- a cohesive learner group with appropriate group norms.

Although these three conditions are not independent of each other since they collectively mould the psychological environment in which learning takes place, it is useful to discuss teacher behaviour, classroom climate and learner group separately.

Appropriate teacher behaviours and a good relationship with the students

It was noted in Section 2.2.1 that teachers act as key social figures who significantly affect the motivational quality of the learning process in positive or negative ways. Indeed, almost everything a teacher does in the classroom has a motivational influence on students, which makes teacher behaviour a powerful 'motivational tool'. This was confirmed by Dörnyei and Csizér's (1998) study of 200 Hungarian teachers of English, in which the participant teachers rated their own behaviour as the most important and, at the same time, extremely underutilised, motivational factor in the classroom. Chambers's (1999) study examined a very different population – British secondary school learners of German – and came to the same conclusion: of all the factors that were hypothesised to contribute to pupils' positive or negative appraisal of L2 learning, the teacher came out on top for all cohorts surveyed.

Quote 5.2 Anderman and Anderman on teachers' motivational impact

Teachers can and do impact student motivation! If you remember nothing else after reading this book, please remember that. Teachers influence student motivation in many ways: through daily interactions with students, they influence students' beliefs about their own abilities, their attitudes toward certain subject areas, their immediate and long-term goals, their beliefs about the causes of their successes and failures, and their reasons for ultimately choosing to do their academic work.

Anderman and Anderman (2010: 2)

Motivational teacher influences are manifold, ranging from the rapport with the students to specific teacher behaviours which 'persuade' and/or 'attract' students to engage in on-task behaviours. A key

element is to establish relationships of *mutual trust* and *respect* with the learners (Alison and Halliwell, 2002). This involves finding opportunities for the teacher to talk with them on a personal level and letting them know that he or she cares for their progress and recognises their individual effort. The rule of thumb is that if the teacher shows commitment towards the students' learning, there is a very good chance that they will do the same thing. Another factor which many believe to be the most important ingredient of motivationally successful teaching is *enthusiasm*. Students take cues from their teachers about how to respond to school activities. Enthusiastic teachers convey a great sense of commitment to and excitement about the subject matter content, not only in words but also by body language (for more on enthusiasm, see Section 7.3.2 on 'Teacher enthusiasm – learner enthusiasm').

Example 5.1   Strategies concerning teacher behaviour

Demonstrate and talk about your own enthusiasm for the course material, and how it affects you personally.

• Share your own personal interest in the L2 with your students.
• Show students that you value L2 learning as a meaningful experience that produces satisfaction and enriches your life.

Take the students' learning very seriously.

• Show students that you care about their progress.
• Indicate your mental and physical availability for all things academic.
• Have sufficiently high expectations for what your students can achieve.

Dörnyei (2001b: 33, 36)

A pleasant and supportive atmosphere in the classroom

This condition requires little justification. Any practising teacher will be aware of the fact that student anxiety created by a tense classroom climate is one of the most potent factors that undermine learning effectiveness and L2 motivation (e.g. Dörnyei, 2007a; MacIntyre, 2002; Young, 1999). Learner involvement will be highest in a psychologically safe classroom climate in which students are encouraged to express their opinions and in which they feel that they are protected from ridicule and embarrassment.

Interestingly, research evidence suggests that in virtual classroom settings which are limited to audiographic communication channels, the nature of anxiety may be somewhat different. Learners do not feel as exposed (e.g. to ridicule or embarrassment) if no one can actually see them, and thus may experience less apprehension about communicating. However, as de los Arcos et al. (2009) report in their analysis of L2 oral practice in a synchronous audiographic environment, learners may experience a different form of anxiety or tension which is dictated by the constraints of the technology (e.g. the pressure to respond quickly) and by the lack of nonverbal multimodal cues (e.g. in interpreting the tone of teacher comments). Creating a psychologically safe classroom climate in this kind of virtual setting thus brings its unique concerns for the teacher, including the need to build a sense of community when participants cannot actually see other, and to promote what White (2007: 104) calls 'a palpable sense of belonging' (see also Hauck and Hurd, 2005; Hurd, 2007, 2008).

Quote 5.3 Dörnyei on the importance of a motivating classroom environment

The basic assumption underlying this chapter is that long-term, sustained learning – such as the acquisition of an L2 – cannot take place unless the educational context provides, in addition to cognitively adequate instructional practices, sufficient *inspiration* and *enjoyment* to build up continuing motivation in the learners. Boring but systematic teaching can be effective in producing, for example, good test results, but rarely does it inspire a life-long commitment to the subject matter.

Dörnyei (2007a: 719)

A cohesive learner group with appropriate group norms

The third basic condition concerns the composition and internal structure of the learner group and the developing norm system that governs group behaviour in general. We have seen in Section 2.2.1 that group characteristics have important motivational bearings, and central to these characteristics is the level of *cohesiveness* among the class members. Indeed, fragmented groups, characterised by uncooperative cliques, can easily become ineffective, thus diminishing the individual member's commitment to learn. There are several factors that promote

Table 5.1 **Factors promoting group cohesiveness**

- Time spent together and shared group history
- Learning about each other
- Proximity (physical distance), contact (situations offering spontaneous opportunities to meet) and interaction (situations in which people's behaviour influences each other)
- Difficult admission
- The rewarding nature of group activities
- Cooperation towards common goals
- Joint hardship experienced together
- Emphasising 'us' and 'them': defining the group against others
- Intergroup competition
- Joint hardship and common threat
- Extracurricular activities
- Solidarity against a common enemy
- Developing group legends
- Public commitment to the group
- Personal investment in the group
- Active presence and role modelling of the teacher

Source: Dörnyei and Murphey (2003)

group cohesiveness (see Table 5.1) and most of these can be consciously 'manipulated' to good effect.

Group norms are inherently social products: in an effective group, in order for a norm to be long-lasting and constructive, it should be explicitly discussed and willingly adopted by members. A great deal of research has shown that institutional norms mandated by a teacher are unlikely to become effective group norms unless they are accepted as right or proper by the majority of the class members (Ehrman and Dörnyei, 1998). Consistent with these considerations, Dörnyei and Murphey (2003) argue that it is beneficial to include an explicit norm-building procedure early in the group's life by formulating potential norms, justifying their purpose in order to enlist support for them, having them discussed by the whole group, and finally agreeing on a mutually accepted set of 'class rules', with the consequences for violating them also specified.

One norm that is particularly important to language learning situations is the *norm of tolerance*. The language classroom is an inherently face-threatening environment because learners are required to take continuous risks as they need to communicate using a severely restricted language code. An established norm of tolerance ensures that

students will not be embarrassed or criticised if they make a mistake and, more generally, that mistakes are seen and welcomed as a natural part of learning (for an illustration, see Example 5.2 in Section 5.2.3).

> **Quote 5.4** Oyster on group norms
>
> If you think your behaviour isn't controlled by norms, think again.
>
> Oyster (2000: 27)

5.2.2   Generating initial motivation

In an ideal world, all learners are eager to learn because they are driven by their inborn curiosity to explore the world, and the learning experience therefore is a constant source of intrinsic pleasure for them. Reality, however, rarely lives up to these ideals. The fact is that if students could freely choose what to do, academic learning for many would most likely feature low on their agenda. School attendance is compulsory for students, and the content of the curriculum is almost always selected on the basis of what society – rather than the learners themselves – considers important (Brophy, 2004). It is no wonder, therefore, that Csikszentmihalyi and his colleagues (Schneider et al., 1995; Wong and Csikszentmihalyi, 1991) found in a large-scale US survey that schoolwork was considered to be the least rewarding activity among adolescents, and the most common adjectives they used to describe their classroom experience were 'boring', 'unenjoyable' and 'constrained'.

   This means that unless teachers are singularly fortunate with the composition of their class group, they need to contribute actively to generating positive student attitudes towards learning the subject matter even if the general motivational conditions described above are in place. We have divided the strategies that can be used to achieve this into five main groups:

* enhancing the learners' language-related values and attitudes;
* increasing the learners' expectancy of success;
* increasing the learners' 'goal-orientedness';
* making the teaching materials relevant for the learners;
* creating realistic learner beliefs.

Enhancing the learners' language-related values and attitudes

The individual's subjective *value system* is a more or less organised collection of internalised perceptions, beliefs and feelings related to one's position in the social world, developed during the past as a reaction to past experiences. These values largely determine the individual's internal preferences and basic approaches to activities, and therefore perhaps the most far-reaching consequences in motivating learners can be achieved by promoting positive *language-related values and attitudes*. Adapting Eccles and Wigfield's (1995) value typology (Section 2.1.1) to the specific domain of L2 learning, we can distinguish between three main value dimensions:

1. The *intrinsic value* of the ongoing process of L2 learning, associated with the interest in and anticipated enjoyment of the language-learning activity. The key issue in generating interest is to 'whet the students' appetite' – that is, to arouse the students' curiosity and attention, and to create an attractive image for the course.

2. *Intercultural value* involves a composite of various L2-related attitudes (social, cultural, ethnolinguistic, etc.), as well as a general interest in 'foreignness' and foreign languages. The importance of this value dimension suggests that the traditional practice of teaching languages through their cultures and the social reality of their speakers does have some scientific basis and, therefore, there is a need to make the L2 'real' by introducing to learners its cultural background, using authentic materials, and promoting contact with native speakers of the L2. However, as we observed in Section 3.4.3 and in Chapter 4, the rise of Global English does call into question the continued relevance to L2 motivation of notions of 'target language culture' and 'native speakers' in the case of learning English as L2.

3. *Instrumental value* refers to the consequences that might arise from the mastery of the L2. Its special importance in many L2 learning contexts lies in the fact that for most students the process of language learning is a means to achieve other goals through the knowledge of the L2 (rather than being an end in its own right). In order to spur students to invest more effort in the task than they might do otherwise, instrumental strategies can:
   - remind students that the successful mastery of the L2 is instrumental to the accomplishment of their valued goals;
   - reiterate the role the L2 plays in the world and its potential usefulness both for themselves and their community;

- establish incentive systems that offer extrinsic rewards for successful task completion (e.g. good grades, prizes, celebration) – but see Concept 5.3 on the controversial nature of rewards.

Increasing the learners' expectancy of success

A key tenet of expectancy-value theories (Section 2.1.1) is that we do things best if we expect to succeed and, to turn this statement round, we are unlikely to be motivated to aim for something if we feel we will never get there. And, as Brophy (1998: 60) succinctly summarises: 'The simplest way to ensure that students expect success is to make sure that they achieve it consistently.' In addition, we can increase our students' expectancy of success in particular tasks by:

- offering them sufficient preparation and assistance;
- making sure that they know exactly what success in the task involves;
- removing any serious obstacles to success.

Increasing the learners' 'goal-orientedness'

Educational psychological research has found repeatedly that in an ordinary class many, if not most, students do not really understand (or accept) why they are involved in a learning activity: the 'official group goal' (i.e. mastering the course content) set by outsiders (e.g. policy and curriculum makers) may well not be the only group goal and, in extreme cases, may not be a group goal at all. Because of the inherent goal diversity prevalent in any classroom, it would seem beneficial to increase the group's *goal-orientedness*, that is, the extent to which the group is attuned to pursuing its official goal (in our case, L2 learning).

The most obvious way to achieve this is by initiating a discussion with our students with the objective of outlining 'group goals'. Personalised learning 'itineraries' and 'contracts' have also worked in many classrooms because they allow students to define their own personal criteria for success. Other key issues in goal setting involve the identification of those goal features that increase student performance most; trying to construct activities that can accommodate simultaneous pursuit and attainment of many different kinds of goals; and resolving the common conflict between individual learner goals and institutional constraints. It is important to emphasise that the initial effort to establish a sense of direction and a common purpose for the group needs to be followed up by a recurring review of the original goal(s) in view of the progress made towards them. (We will revisit the issue of setting specific proximal goals in the next section.)

Concept 5.1   **How do goals affect performance?**

There are four mechanisms by which goals affect the students' performance:

1. They direct attention and effort towards goal-relevant activities at the expense of irrelevant or distracting actions.
2. They regulate the amount of effort people expend in that people adjust their effort to the difficulty level required by the task.
3. They encourage persistence until the goal is accomplished.
4. They promote the search for relevant action plans or task strategies.

Making the teaching materials relevant for the learners

The core of the issue that this section addresses has been very succinctly summarised by McCombs and Whisler (1997: 38): 'Educators think students do not care, while the students tell us they do care about learning but are not getting what they need.' Indeed, one of the most demotivating factors for learners is when they have to learn something that they cannot see the point of because it has no seeming relevance whatsoever to their lives. This experience is unfortunately more common than many of us would think. Accordingly, much of the motivational advice offered to teachers in the educational literature boils down to the following general principle: *Find out your students' goals and the topics they want to learn, and build these into your syllabus as much as possible*. Students are not motivated to learn unless they regard the material they are taught as worth learning.

Quote 5.5   Chambers on the significance of 'relevance' in L2 teaching

If the teacher is to motivate pupils to learn, then relevance has to be the red thread permeating activities. If pupils fail to see the relationship between the activity and the world in which they live, then the point of the activity is likely to be lost on them. . . . If pupils do not see the relevance of a subject, the teacher has from the outset a major challenge.

Chambers (1999: 37–8)

Creating realistic learner beliefs

It is a peculiar fact of life that most learners will have certain beliefs about language learning and most of these beliefs are likely to be (at least partly) incorrect. *Unrealistic learner beliefs* about how much progress to expect, in what way and how fast, function like 'time bombs' at the beginning of a language course because of the inevitable disappointment that is to follow, or because they can clash with the course methodology and thus hinder progress. It is therefore a key motivational issue to sort out some of the most far-fetched expectations and get rid of the preconceived notions and prejudices that are likely to hinder L2 attainment. In order to rectify students' erroneous assumptions they:

- need to develop an informed understanding of the nature of second language acquisition and reasonable criteria for progress;
- should be made aware of the fact that the mastery of an L2 can be achieved in a number of different ways, using diverse strategies, and therefore a key factor leading to success is for learners to discover for themselves the methods and techniques by which they learn best.

An effective way of initiating discussions towards these goals is to administer the BALLI (see Concept 5.2) to the learners and use the answers as a starting point in analysing the validity of popular beliefs and myths.

Concept 5.2   **Horwitz's research on learner beliefs**

Horwitz (1988) developed a self-report questionnaire, the Beliefs About Language Learning Inventory (BALLI), consisting of 34 items, to assess student beliefs in five major areas:

- difficulty of language learning,
- foreign language aptitude,
- the nature of language learning,
- learning and communication strategies,
- motivation and expectations.

Empirical data obtained from American learners of German, French and Spanish confirmed that certain belief systems are quite common among learners and are consistent across different language groups.

5.2.3   Maintaining and protecting motivation

It is one thing to initially whet the students' appetite with appropriate motivational techniques, but as we have seen in Section 3.3, unless motivation is actively nurtured and protected during the actional phase of the motivational process – that is, when action has commenced and is well on the way – the natural tendency to lose sight of the goal, to get tired or bored of the activity and to give way to attractive distractions or competing action tendencies will result in the initial motivation gradually petering out. Therefore, an effective motivational repertoire should include motivation maintenance (or 'executive motivational') strategies that can help to prevent this from happening.

Although the spectrum of executive motivational strategies is broad (since ongoing human behaviour can be modified in so many different ways), the following areas appear to be particularly relevant for classroom application:

- making learning stimulating and enjoyable;
- presenting tasks in a motivating way;
- setting specific learner goals;
- protecting the learners' self-esteem and increasing their self-confidence;
- allowing learners to maintain a positive social image;
- promoting cooperation among the learners;
- creating learner autonomy;
- promoting self-motivating learner strategies.

Making learning stimulating and enjoyable

Most researchers and practitioners would agree that the higher the quality of the learning experience, the more learner engagement and persistence we can expect. The real question is what we mean by the 'quality of the learning experience'. Out of the many issues related to the promotion of the quality of the learning experience, let us highlight here two key points that must be addressed by any motivationally conscious teaching practice:

- *Breaking the monotony of learning* by varying as much as possible the learning tasks and other aspects of the teaching such as the presentation style, learning materials, teaching format and activity sequence.

- *Making the tasks more interesting:* this is probably the best-known motivational dimension of classroom teaching, and many practitioners would simply equate the adjective 'motivating' with 'interesting'. Accordingly, a great number of recommendations have been made in the literature as to how to promote this intrinsic quality dimension, ranging from making the tasks varied and challenging to including novel elements and relating the content of the tasks to the learners' natural interest (for a recent review, see Anderman and Anderman, 2010).

Presenting tasks in a motivating way

The fact is that some topics we teach are unlikely to interest students even though it is in their interest to learn them. This is when motivational techniques related to how to *present* and *administer tasks* come in particularly useful. With a proper introduction, even a grammatical substitution drill can be made (almost) exciting. For an introduction to be motivational it needs to go beyond the traditional purpose of task instructions that typically describe what students will be doing, what they will have accomplished when they are finished and how these accomplishments will be evaluated. These are undoubtedly important teaching aspects, but an inspirational instruction should fulfil at least three further functions:

- explaining the purpose and the utility of the task;
- whetting the students' anticipation of the task;
- providing appropriate strategies for doing the task.

Setting specific learner goals

Individual goal setting is one of the most effective methods to enable students to experience a sense of control over their own learning and perceive themselves as mastering material while incorporating their own interests (Jones and Jones, 2009). It is particularly relevant to language learning because the ultimate purpose of this prolonged process – to communicate with L2 speakers – is several years away and is, in fact, for many learners only moderately realistic (i.e. what if the learner does *not* really want to communicate with L2 speakers?). Therefore, setting 'proximal subgoals' (see Concept 2.4 in Section 2.1.2) has a powerful motivating function by providing advance organisers as well as immediate incentive and feedback.

Locke and Latham's (1990) goal-setting theory has been widely used in many organisational settings to improve employee motivation and performance, and Latham et al. (1997) argue that the theory is just as relevant to educational contexts. Drawing on the work of Schunk et al. (2007) and Dembo and Eaton (1997), we can compile six main principles to be applied in the classroom setting:

1. Goals should be clear and specific, referring to concrete outcomes in as much detail as possible.
2. Goals should be challenging and difficult, but at the same time realistic and not outside the range of students' capabilities.
3. Goals should be measurable, describing the outcome in terms that can be clearly evaluated.
4. Goals should have a stated completion date.
5. Both proximal and distal goals should be set. For example, teachers can design a learning agreement, or a 'contract', with each student that specifies a series of subgoals that lead to larger goals.
6. Teachers should provide feedback that increases students' self-efficacy for obtaining the goal. Such feedback can involve informational input or extrinsic rewards that are contingent on actual academic performance.

Protecting the learners' self esteem and increasing their self-confidence

Self-esteem and self-confidence are like the foundations of a building: if they are not secure enough, even the best technology will be insufficient to build solid walls over them. We can employ our most creative motivational ideas, but if students have basic doubts about themselves, they will be unable to 'bloom' as learners. The important question, then, is how to maintain and increase the students' self-confidence and self-esteem in a context – the language classroom – which is inherently face-threatening for the learner: they often have to 'babble like a child' in the L2 for a lack of sufficient resources, and further anxiety is usually created by the salient grading system. In spite of these unfavourable odds, there are several ways of successfully increasing the students' self-confidence, as illustrated by the following five approaches:

1. Teachers can foster the belief in their students that competence is a changeable and controllable aspect of development and they can help to dispel misconceptions and unrealistic fears.

2. Favourable self-conceptions of L2 competence can be promoted by providing regular experiences of success and by emphasising what learners can rather than cannot do.

3. Everybody is more interested in proceedings if they feel that they have an important part to play, and therefore even hard-to-reach learners can be motivated by giving them the feeling of making a useful contribution and creating classroom situations where they can demonstrate positive features and come forward to offer help (Alison and Halliwell, 2002).

4. Sometimes a small personal word of praise or encouragement is sufficient.

5. Finally, teachers can reduce classroom anxiety by making the learning context less stressful and by providing learners with strategies to cope with anxiety-provoking situations.

Allowing learners to maintain a positive social image

Maintaining face is a central concern for most schoolchildren: for them school is the most important social arena and their peers are their main reference group. Therefore, they will feel ill at ease doing tasks (no matter how conducive those are to learning) that put them in a situation where they are made to look small in front of their contemporaries. Thus, providing opportunities for everybody to play the protagonist's role in one way or another (e.g. by creating situations in which students can demonstrate their particular strength) is an effective method of making the person feel good about the course and the role he or she plays in it. In a similar vein, the learners' social image can be enhanced by avoiding criticisms and corrections that can be considered humiliating, and by 'working on' the group as a whole in order to establish norms of tolerance and acceptance (Example 5.2).

Example 5.2 A set of 'Class Rules' fostering peer acceptance

- Let's try to listen to each other.
- Let's help each other.
- Let's respect each other's ideas and values.
- It's OK to make mistakes: they are learning points.
- Let's not make fun of each other's weaknesses.
- We must avoid hurting each other, verbally or physically.

Ehrman and Dörnyei (1998: 241)

Promoting cooperation among the learners

Studies from all over the world are unanimous in claiming that students in cooperative environments have more positive attitudes towards learning and develop higher self-esteem and self-confidence than in other classroom structures (see also Concept 2.6 on 'Cooperative learning and motivation' in Section 2.2.1). Dörnyei (2001b) lists the following nine reasons for the favourable impact of cooperation on motivation:

1. Cooperation fosters class group cohesiveness because in cooperative situations students are dependent on each other and share common goals.
2. If learners are allowed to cooperate with each other towards a certain goal, their expectancy of success is likely to be higher than if they are to work individually.
3. Cooperative teamwork achieves a rare synthesis of academic and social goals because besides being effective in terms of learning, it also responds directly to the students' needs for belonging and relatedness.
4. In cooperative situations there is a sense of obligation and moral responsibility to the 'fellow-cooperators'.
5. Cooperation is also motivating because the knowledge that one's unique contribution is required for the group to succeed increases one's efforts.
6. Cooperative situations generally have a positive emotional tone, which means that they generate less anxiety and stress than other learning formats.
7. Cooperative teams are by definition autonomous, and autonomy is a powerful contributor to motivation (see below).
8. The satisfaction for successful task completion is increased by the shared experience and the joint celebration.
9. Cooperative situations increase the significance of effort relative to ability (for a discussion of the significance of this, see Section 5.2.4), because in team work the main characteristic people are judged by is their commitment to the team.

Creating learner autonomy

Contemporary language-teaching methodologies make the assumption (either overtly or covertly) that taking an active, independent attitude

to learning – that is, becoming an autonomous learner – is beneficial to learning (cf. Barfield and Brown, 2007; Benson, 2007, 2010; Little, 1991; Pemberton et al., 2009; Wenden, 1991). This assumption is partly rooted in the principles of humanistic psychology, namely that 'the only kind of learning which significantly affects behaviour is self-discovered, self-appropriated learning' (Rogers, 1961: 276), and partly in educational psychology, which has emphasised the importance of learning strategies and self-regulation (e.g. Boekaerts et al., 2005; Schunk and Zimmerman, 2008; see also Sections 2.2.2 and 5.3). How can we foster learner autonomy? Key issues include allowing students real choices, sharing responsibility with the students for organising their learning process and giving them positions of genuine authority, and encouraging student contributions, peer teaching and project work. Benson (2010) distinguishes five different types of practice associated with the development of autonomy:

- *resource-based approaches* (emphasising independent interaction with learning materials);
- *technology-based approaches* (emphasising independent interaction with educational technologies);
- *learner-based approaches* (emphasising the direct production of behavioural and psychological changes in the learner, e.g. strategy training);
- *classroom-based approaches* (emphasising changes in the relationship between learners and teachers in the classroom and learner control over the planning and evaluation of learning);
- *curriculum-based approaches* (extending the idea of control over the planning and evaluation of learning to the curriculum as a whole).

Despite its association with notions of independence and personal control, it should be noted that a hallmark of current thinking about learner autonomy is an emphasis on its interdependent and socially situated (rather than individualistic) nature, whereby our ability to learn is dependent on our participation in social life and membership of learning communities, and the autonomous individual is viewed as a creative product and also producer of his social context (Esch, 2009; see also Candlin, 1997). From a motivational perspective, this means that strategies such as enabling students to exercise a certain degree of choice and freedom or to share responsibility function essentially as socialising strategies through which personal goals may become aligned with curriculum goals, and through which students learn to

regulate their own motivation in response to and with the support of the social learning environment. We will consider the issue of motivational self-regulation in more detail in the following section.

Quote 5.6 Ushioda on socialising motivation and autonomy

[L]ike learners' capacity for autonomy, their motivation must be viewed as an intrinsic part of human nature, yet one which needs supportive interpersonal interactions and an optimal learning environment in order to grow in positive ways (McCombs 1994, p. 59). Although learners must 'do the wanting', they need to be brought to understand what it is good to want and why. This is achieved not by progressive attempts to regulate their behaviour from outside, but by supportive interpersonal processes which foster the development of autonomy and the growth and regulation of motivation from inside.

Ushioda (2003: 99–100)

Promoting self-motivating learner strategies

Most of the discussion so far has concentrated on the teacher's responsibility and role in stimulating student motivation. It has been observed, however, that even under adverse conditions and without any teacher assistance (e.g. in open distance learning contexts; see for example Hurd, 2007, 2008), some learners are more successful in keeping up their goal commitment than some others. How do they do it? They *motivate themselves*. Fuelled by this recognition, research in educational psychology has turned increasingly to the learners to explore what they can do to 'save' the action when the initial motivation is flagging (e.g. Boekaerts et al., 2005; Schunk and Zimmerman, 2008). An important role of teachers is to raise their students' awareness of relevant self-regulatory strategies and to remind them at appropriate times of the usefulness of these.

Quote 5.7 Ushioda on self-motivation

Self-motivation is a question of thinking effectively and meaningfully about learning experience and learning goals. It is a question of applying positive thought patterns and belief structures so as to optimise and sustain one's involvement in learning. In other words, a capacity for

> self-motivation may be defined as a capacity for *effective* motivational thinking…this capacity entails taking personal control of the affective conditions and experiences that shape one's subjective involvement in learning. It entails minimising the damage when these experiences are negative, and maximising the subjective rewards when these experiences are positive, and so fostering optimum motivational conditions for continued engagement in language learning.
>
> Ushioda (1997: 41)

Under the label of 'action control strategies', Section 2.2.2 presented a taxonomy of six types of self-motivating strategies developed by Kuhl (1987). Following Kuhl's pioneering research, a considerable array of action maintenance strategies have been documented in the educational psychological literature during the past two decades, and based on the pioneering work of Corno (1993) and Corno and Kanfer (1993) in this area, Dörnyei (2001b) has divided self-motivating strategies into five main classes:

1. *Commitment control strategies* for helping to preserve or increase the learners' original goal commitment (e.g. keeping in mind favourable expectations or positive incentives and rewards; focusing on what would happen if the original intention failed).

2. *Metacognitive control strategies* for monitoring and controlling concentration, and for curtailing unnecessary procrastination (e.g. identifying recurring distractions and developing defensive routines; focusing on the first steps to take when getting down to an activity).

3. *Satiation control strategies* for eliminating boredom and adding extra attraction or interest to the task (e.g. adding a twist to the task; using one's fantasy to liven up the task).

4. *Emotion control strategies* for managing disruptive emotional states or moods, and for generating emotions that will be conducive to implementing one's intentions (e.g. self-encouragement; using relaxation and meditation techniques).

5. *Environmental control strategies* for eliminating negative environmental influences and exploiting positive environmental influences by making the environment an ally in the pursuit of a difficult goal (e.g. eliminating distractions; asking friends to help and not to allow one to do something).

An important part of a motivational teaching practice that has a considerable empowering effect is to raise student awareness of relevant strategies and to remind them at appropriate times of their usefulness. As Hurd (2008) emphasises, awareness-raising of this kind is equally if not more important in independent learning settings (e.g. online environments and distance learning), where students lack the kind of social-affective support provided by regular interactions with other learners and the teacher, and typically may be engaging in language learning on top of full-time work and personal commitments with their associated demands and stresses. She suggests that an explicit focus on affective learner self-management strategies should be written into online course materials to give due attention to this important dimension of the learning process.

5.2.4   Rounding off the learning experience: encouraging positive self-evaluation

A large body of research has shown that the way students feel about their past accomplishments, the amount of satisfaction they experience after successful task completion and the reasons to which they attribute past successes and failures will significantly determine how they approach subsequent learning tasks (it is for this reason that the Dörnyei and Ottó model contains a postactional phase; Section 3.3.3). By using appropriate strategies, teachers can help learners to evaluate their achievements in a more 'positive light' (i.e. to appreciate better their advances in progress and mastery), and to encourage them to take credit for these accomplishments by attributing them to sufficient ability plus reasonable effort (which, as discussed in Section 2.1.1, is an important concern in attribution theory). We have selected three areas of postactional strategies whose classroom relevance has received ample confirmation by research findings:

- promoting attributions to effort rather than to ability;
- providing motivational feedback;
- increasing learner satisfaction and the question of rewards and grades.

Promoting attributions to effort rather than to ability

Past research had identified a certain hierarchy of the types of attributions people make in terms of their motivating nature (Section 2.1.1).

It is easy to see, for example, that failure that is ascribed to stable and uncontrollable factors such as low ability hinders future achievement behaviour (*I'm not good enough for this sort of thing . . .*), whereas failure that is attributed to unstable and controllable factors such as effort is generally regarded by learners as less detrimental (*I didn't work hard enough but next time . . .*). In order to promote effort attributions, in failure situations teachers should generally emphasise the low effort exerted as being a strong reason for underachievement because this communicates to students that they can do better in the future. In situations when failure occurs in spite of obvious hard work on the student's part, the best strategy is to point out the skills/knowledge that were missing and communicate to the student that these are unstable and can be mastered. With regard to student success, it should not be attributed entirely to effort (even if the person did work hard) but also to a stable cause such as talent.

Providing motivational feedback

The attributional aspect is only one (although a crucial) element of motivationally effective feedback. There are a number of other important issues to consider in this respect:

- An often mentioned distinction of two types of feedback involves *informational feedback*, which comments on progress and competence, and *controlling feedback*, which judges performance against external standards (Brophy and Good, 1986). It is generally maintained that from a motivational point of view the former should be dominant since it enables students to understand where they are in relation to achieving goals and what they need to do to continue or improve their progress (Jones and Jones, 2009).

- An important source of self-efficacy (Section 2.1.1) is *observing models*. Therefore, drawing attention to the fact that others are coping with a certain task and providing relevant positive examples and analogies of accomplishment may be useful in suggesting that task attainment is within the student's means.

- Effective feedback can also contain a *positive persuasive element*, communicating that the teacher believes that the student is capable of reaching certain predetermined goals. Students in general experience high efficacy when told they are capable of attaining success by a trustworthy source such as the teacher.

- A further important component of effective teacher feedback concerns information about how well learners were applying *strategies* and how strategy use is improving their performance. Various learner strategies help students to attend to tasks, focus on important features, structure one's activity, organise material and maintain the productive psychological climate of learning (Schunk and Zimmerman, 2008; Zimmerman and Schunk, 2001). In the L2 field, learner strategies related to the acquisition and production of the target language have been shown to play an important role (e.g. Cohen, 1998; Cohen and Macaro, 2009; Dörnyei, 1995; Dörnyei and Scott, 1997; Hurd and Lewis, 2008; Kasper and Kellerman, 1997; Schmitt, 1997), and one way of ensuring the success of strategy training is by giving regular strategy feedback.
- Finally, certain aspects of teacher feedback can also have a negative impact on learner behaviour. Graham (1994) highlights three such instances:
  - communicating pity instead of anger after failure;
  - the offering of praise after success in easy tasks;
  - unsolicited offers of help (particularly 'gratuitous help' such as supplying answers outright).

Increasing learner satisfaction and the question of rewards and grades

There seems to be a general assumption that the feeling of satisfaction is a significant factor in reinforcing achievement behaviour, which makes *satisfaction* a major component of motivation. Motivational strategies aimed at increasing learner satisfaction typically focus on allowing students to create finished products that they can perform or display, encouraging them to be proud of themselves after accomplishing a task, taking stock from time to time of their general progress, celebrating success and using motivationally appropriate rewards. Unfortunately, this latter task is difficult to accomplish because of the overarching importance of grades as the ultimate embodiment of school rewards, providing a single index for judging overall success and failure in school. The problem with grades is that they focus student attention on performance outcomes, such as high test scores, rather than on the process of learning itself. As a result, 'many students are grade driven, not to say, "grade grubbing", and this preoccupation begins surprisingly early in life' (Covington, 1999: 127).

Quote 5.8 Covington on grades and self-worth

To the extent that students equate their worth with competitive achievement, grades can take on a disproportional, distorted meaning and become pursued with an unnatural urgency. When this intensity is combined with the fear of failure – essentially the fear that one may be judged incompetent, hence unworthy, then the pursuit of grades becomes an ordeal and the virtually assured result is defensiveness and excuse making.

Covington (2004: 96)

Concept 5.3   **The controversy of rewards**

Although teachers regularly dispense a variety of rewards to students for good behaviour and academic performance, the effectiveness of rewards has been a controversial issue among educational psychologists. Early research on extrinsic/intrinsic motivation indicated that extrinsic rewards undermined intrinsic interest and therefore were to be avoided. Indeed, we can list many instances in school settings when students lose their natural intrinsic interest in an activity if they have to do it to meet some extrinsic requirement (e.g. even pupils who like reading often dislike compulsory readings). However, the simplistic 'extrinsic = bad and intrinsic = good' view has been modified (cf. Section 2.1.3) and sufficiently internalised extrinsic motives are now seen as complementary to intrinsic interest. This implies that rewards are not necessarily harmful after all but their effects depend on what the actual rewards are and how they are presented. Brophy (2004) argues that detrimental effects are most likely when rewards have the following three characteristics:

1. *High salience*, that is, they are very attractive and are presented in a highly conspicuous manner.
2. *Non-contingency*, that is, the rewards are given for participating in the activity rather than being contingent on achieving specific goals.
3. *Unnatural/unusual*, that is, the rewards are not natural outcomes of the behaviours but are artificial control devices.

5.3   Generating and sustaining a vision for language learning

We saw in Chapter 4 (Section 4.1) that the L2 Motivational Self System offers a new approach to understanding language learning motivation, and that an important component of this theory is the learners' vision of themselves in a future state. The possibility of harnessing the powerful motivational function of imagination (Taylor et al. 1998; see also Concept 5.4) opens up a whole new avenue for promoting student motivation by means of increasing the elaborateness and vividness of self-relevant imagery in the students. Dörnyei (2009a) proposed a multicomponential framework to outline the main dimensions of how we can facilitate our students' creating an *attractive vision* of their ideal language self and thus develop effective motivational self-guides. In Section 4.2.3 we explained that the motivational capacity of self-guides is dependent on a number of conditions, and the underlying principle of Dörnyei's system focuses on satisfying these conditions.

The motivational programme consists of six components (for a resource book of vision-enhancing classroom activities, see Hadfield and Dörnyei, in preparation):

Concept 5.4   **The motivational function of imagination and mental imagery**

Imagination has been known to be related to motivation since the ancient Greeks. Aristotle, for example, defined imagination as 'sensation without matter' and claimed that 'There's no desiring without imagination'. Accordingly, Aristotle defined the image in the soul as the prime motivating force in human action and believed that when an image of something to be pursued or avoided was present in imagination, the soul was moved in the same manner as if the objects of desire were materially present. Interestingly, contemporary definitions of mental imagery are very similar to that of Aristotle. Kosslyn et al. (2002), for example, define it as 'the ability to represent perceptual states in the absence of the appropriate sensory input' and they also confirm the assumption that humans respond to mental images similarly to visual ones. In our present days, the motivating power of mental imagery has been best documented in the field of sport psychology. Inspired by Paivio's (1985) influential model of cognitive functions of imagery in human performance, hundreds

of studies have examined the relationship between mental imagery and sport performance, and as Gregg and Hall (2006) summarise, it has been generally concluded that imagery is an effective performance enhancement technique. As a result, virtually every successful athlete in the world applies some sort of imagery enhancement technique during training and competition.

1. *Construction of the Ideal L2 Self: creating the vision*. The (obvious) prerequisite for the motivational capacity of future self-guides is that they *need to exist*. Therefore, the first step in a motivational intervention that follows the self approach is to help learners to construct their Ideal L2 Self – that is, to *create an L2-related vision*. The term 'constructing' the Ideal L2 Self is not entirely accurate because it is highly unlikely that any motivational intervention will lead a student to generate an ideal self out of nothing – the realistic process is more likely to involve *awareness raising* about, and *guided selection* from, the multiple aspirations, dreams, desires, etc. that the student has already entertained in the past. Thus, igniting the vision involves increasing the students' mindfulness about the significance of the ideal self in general and guiding them through a number of possible selves that they have entertained in their minds in the past, while also presenting some powerful role models to illustrate potential future selves.

2. *Imagery enhancement: strengthening the vision*. Even if a desired self image exists, it may not have a sufficient degree of elaborateness and vividness to act as an effective motivator. Methods of imagery enhancement have been explored in several areas of psychological, educational and sport research in the past (e.g. Berkovits, 2005; Gould et al., 2002; Hall et al., 2006; Singer, 2006), and the techniques of *creative* or *guided imagery* can also be utilised to promote ideal L2 self images and thus to *strengthen the students' vision*. The details of an effective 'language imagery programme' are still to be worked out, but let there be no doubt about it: 'Our capacity for imagery and fantasy can indeed give us a kind of control over possible futures!' (Singer, 2006: 128).

3. *Making the Ideal L2 Self plausible: substantiating the vision*. Possible selves are only effective insomuch as the learner perceives them as *possible*, that is, conceivable within the person's particular circumstances.

Thus, in order for ideal self-images to energise sustained behaviour, they must be anchored in a sense of realistic expectations – they need to be *substantiated*, resulting in the curious mixed aura of imagination and reality that effective images share. This process requires honest and down-to-earth reality checks as well as considering any potential obstacles and difficulties that might stand in the way of realising the ideal self. Inviting successful role models to class can send the powerful message to students that, although everybody faces certain hurdles in reaching their ideal selves, it can be, and has been, done.

4. *Developing an action plan: operationalising the vision.* Future self-guides are only effective if they are accompanied by a set of concrete *action plans*. Therefore, the ideal self needs to come as part of a 'package' consisting of an imagery component *and* a repertoire of appropriate plans, scripts and self-regulatory strategies. Even the most galvanising self-image might fall flat without ways of *operationalising the vision*, that is, without any concrete learning pathways into which to channel the individual's energy. This is clearly an area where L2 motivation research and language teaching methodology overlap: an effective action plan will contain a goal-setting component (which is a motivational issue) as well as individualised study plans and instructional avenues (which are methodological in nature).

5. *Activating the Ideal L2 Self: keeping the vision alive.* Very little is said in the literature about activating and re-activating the ideal self, but this is an area where language teachers have, perhaps unknowingly, a great deal of experience. Classroom activities such as warmers and icebreakers as well as various communicative tasks can all be turned into effective ways of *keeping the vision alive*, and playing films and music, or engaging in cultural activities can all serve as potent ideal-self reminders. Indeed, good teachers in any subject matter seem to have an instinctive talent to provide an engaging framework that keeps the enthusiasts going and the less-than-enthusiasts thinking.

6. *Considering failure: counterbalancing the vision.* For maximum effectiveness, the desired self should be *offset by the feared self*: we do something because we want to do it *and also* because not doing it would lead to undesired results. In language teaching terms this process of *counterbalancing the vision* would involve regular reminders of the limitations of not knowing foreign languages as well as regularly priming the learners' ought-to L2 self to highlight the duties and obligations they have committed themselves to.

> **Quote 5.9** Lee and Oyserman on the implications of possible self theory for teachers
>
> Possible selves can undergird self-improvement by showing a path toward the future and by highlighting where one might end up if effort is not maintained. Intervention to help teachers, parents and students focus on what they want to become and avoid becoming, what they value, and how they expect to engage in becoming like their desired selves and avoiding becoming like their undesired selves can be highly effective. Indeed, the theory of possible selves has been used to understand progress and life transitions for both youth learners and adults in continuing education and other settings. Perhaps the most important message that educators can take from the research on possible selves is that possible selves are malleable and can be influenced by intervention to enhance the content of possible selves. Changing possible selves through intervention can lead to positive changes in academic behavior, in better academic performance and lower risk of depression.
>
> Lee and Oyserman (2009)

5.4 Developing a motivation-sensitive teaching approach

Motivation concerns human behaviour in general, and with human behaviour being as complex as it is, the number of motivational techniques is rather extensive. As illustrated by the variety of the material described in this chapter, human action can be influenced or modified in so many different ways that even a selection of the most important strategies will make up a long list if we want to be systematic. For example, Dörnyei's (2001b) comprehensive taxonomy lists 35 key strategies, each of which is then broken down into a number of more specific sub-strategies, and we saw in Section 5.3 that the catalogue of motivational techniques can be further extended by focusing on the learners' vision. Given such an extensive array of suggestions and possibilities, teachers might face a near impossible task in deciding which strategies to implement in their own classrooms, or in trying to incorporate as many as possible into their practice while giving due attention to all the other important aspects of their teaching and classroom management (see Concept 5.5).

Concept 5.5   The 'good-enough motivator'

Drawing on D. W. Winnicott's (1965) concept of the *'good enough mother'*, Bruno Bettelheim (1987) has introduced the concept of the *'good enough parent'*, advocating that in order to produce psychological health in the child, the parent does *not* need to be perfect. Instead, there is a minimum level of support needed for healthy development, including empathic understanding, soothing, protection and, of course, love. In other words, 'good enough parenting' requires the parent to exceed a certain threshold of quality parenting without necessarily having to be a 'Supermum' or 'Superdad'. Following the *'good enough'* analogy, Dörnyei (2001b) argued that teachers should aim to become 'good enough motivators' rather than striving unreasonably to achieve 'Supermotivator' status. What we need is *quality* rather than quantity: a few well-chosen strategies that suit both the teacher and the learners might take one beyond the threshold of the 'good enough motivator', creating an overall positive motivational climate in the classroom.

For this reason, it seems sensible and pragmatic to begin with a smaller set of 'core' strategies to which teachers can pay special attention when trying to implement a motivation-conscious teaching approach. This core set can then be extended when the techniques have been sufficiently internalised and automated. This was the rationale for developing the 'Ten commandments for motivating language learners' (Dörnyei and Csizér, 1998; for an overview of the study, see Study 9.1 in Chapter 9), and the positive reception of this list by teachers has confirmed that the generation of a distilled set of macrostrategies might indeed make the concept of motivating learners more teacher-friendly.

The 'Ten commandments for motivating language learners'

1. Set a personal example with your own behaviour.
2. Create a pleasant, relaxed atmosphere in the classroom.
3. Present the tasks properly.
4. Develop a good relationship with the learners.
5. Increase the learner's linguistic self-confidence.
6. Make the language classes interesting.
7. Promote learner autonomy.
8. Personalise the learning process.
9. Increase the learners' goal-orientedness.
10. Familiarise learners with the target language culture.

(Dörnyei and Csizér, 1998: 215)

However, as noted in Section 5.1, no single set of pedagogical re-commendations (even if called 'commandments') should be considered readily generalisable to all teaching contexts, without taking into account what is appropriate for the local sociocultural context and the unique particularities of each teacher–learner group and classroom set-ting. While Dörnyei and Csizér's (1998) 'ten commandments' were developed in the Hungarian ELT context, a comparative study in Taiwan revealed some similarities but also differences in the preference pattern of motivational macrostrategies among ELT teachers in that cultural setting (Cheng and Dörnyei, 2007). Macrostrategies strongly endorsed by both Hungarian and Taiwanese teachers include 'dis-playing motivating teacher behaviour', 'promoting learners' self-confidence', 'creating a pleasant classroom climate' and 'presenting tasks properly'. On the other hand, compared to their Hungarian counterparts, Taiwanese teachers attach comparatively much greater importance to 'recognising students' efforts' (reflecting perhaps Chinese Confucian values), and rather less importance to 'promoting learner autonomy'.

Aside from the issue of deciding what is best and appropriate for one's own teaching context, two further practical concerns deserve consideration.

1. Many teachers may feel that they already do many of the things we have described as motivational strategies or macrostrategies, as an integral part of their normal classroom practice, yet without paying explicit attention to issues of motivation. Therefore, a concern for teachers and researchers alike may be to what extent motivational teaching practice should be regarded as an extra dimension of good or effective teaching practice, and thus require conscious attention and possibly additional training of some kind; or to what extent it should be considered part and parcel of effective pedagogic practice. A recent study by Guilloteaux and Dörnyei (2008) for example sug-gests that in the Korean ELT context some teachers do implement a variety of effective motivational practices in their day-to-day teaching without any kind of previous systematic training. On the other hand, as Kubanyiova (2006, 2009) reports in a study of Slovakian ELT teachers, even when explicit in-service training in motivational teaching practices is provided, some teachers may not change what they do in any significant way, despite recognising the value of such practices.

2. The second practical concern for teachers relates to negotiating the delicate balance between fostering or socialising students' motivation

on the one hand, and controlling or regulating it on the other. While we must recognise that teachers have a responsibility to find ways of developing and sustaining students' motivated engagement in learning, and that often this is a major challenge, we must also recognise that there is a critical difference between 'motivating' students and 'developing their motivation' – that is, between creating unhealthy teacher-dependent forms of student motivation (e.g. the traditional 'carrot-and-stick' approach informed by behaviourist theories), and socialising and generating healthy forms of internally driven motivation (what Deci and Flaste, 1996, call 'motivation from within'). Given that developing communicative proficiency in a language takes considerable time, effort and commitment, that levels of motivation are bound to fluctuate throughout this process (Section 3.3), and that learning will need to be sustained outside and beyond the classroom, students who become dependent on their teachers to motivate them and who do not develop their own motivation and self-regulatory strategies will not get very far (Ushioda, 2008). Thus, rather than merely thinking about techniques for motivating students, we should perhaps also think in terms of creating the conditions for developing students' motivation from within and helping them to sustain this motivation (Ushioda, 2003). This principle underlies the promotion of self-motivating strategies (Section 5.2.3) as well as the generation and enhancement of the learners' vision described in the previous section.

Quote 5.10   Dörnyei on cooking and motivational strategies

[J]ust like in cooking, achieving an optimal, motivating outcome can be done using different combinations of spices: While some chefs rely on paprika and build the recipe around it, others prefer pepper and the herbs that go with it. This is exactly the same in developing a motivating teaching practice. As long as we are aware of the vast repertoire of techniques that are at our disposal, it is up to us to choose the specific ones that we will apply, based on the specific needs that arise in our concrete circumstances. There is only one thing we should *not* attempt: to try and apply *all* the techniques we know at the same time. This would be the perfect recipe for teacher burn-out. What we need is *quality* rather than quantity. Some of the most motivating teachers often rely on a few well-selected basic techniques!

Dörnyei (2007a: 731)

Chapter 6

Motivation in context: demotivating influences

This chapter will…

- introduce the notion of 'demotivation';
- summarise the most salient sources of demotivation in L2 studies;
- discuss the impact of Global English on foreign language learning motivation.

In the previous chapter we discussed a range of strategies which may promote and influence students' motivation in a positive way. The importance of such strategies becomes paramount when we recognise that student motivation is subject to so many negative influences during the learning process. These negative influences may relate to particular learning-related events and experiences, such as performance anxiety, public humiliation, heavy work demands or poor test results. They may also relate to factors in the social learning environment, such as the personality and attitude of the teacher or classroom counter-cultures and peer pressures. In addition, as Candlin and Mercer (2001: 1) remind us, no language teaching and learning takes place in a class-room isolated from the world of experiences and personal engagements and investments of learners outside the classroom, and so we must look also to the wider social context beyond the life of the classroom. While this wider social context may contribute in many positive ways to learner motivation (e.g. through contact with target language speakers, intercultural encounters, opportunities for travel and cultural experi-ences), it may also harbour negative influences on L2 motivation,

perhaps in the shape of public attitudes and discourses that prevail concerning the learning of foreign languages.

In this chapter we will consider the 'dark side' of motivation and examine the range of micro- and macro-contextual factors which may have a negative effect on L2 motivation. We will begin by analysing the concept of 'demotivation' and offering a working definition. We will then review the small amount of empirical literature that exists outside and within the L2 field on demotivation, and consider issues and implications for classroom practice. In the final part of this chapter, we will turn our attention to critical factors in the broader sociocultural context of language learning which may impact negatively on individual L2 motivation, and consider in particular the role of Global English and its repercussions for motivation to learn other foreign languages.

6.1   'Demotivation' versus 'motivation'

It is relatively easy to reach an initial common-sense understanding of 'demotivation': it concerns various negative influences that cancel out existing motivation. Let us look at some hypothetical examples:

- Jack became demotivated to learn Spanish after his language class was split into two groups, the more and the less able ones, and he found himself among the 'slow' students.
- Jill lost her commitment to French when she did not understand something and the teacher talked to her in a rather brusque and impatient manner.
- For Rupert the final straw was when he suffered an embarrassing experience of having to speak in front of the class.

Thus, a 'demotivated' learner is someone who was once motivated but has lost his or her commitment/interest for some reason. Similar to 'demotivation', we can also speak of 'demotives', which are the negative counterparts of 'motives': a motive increases an action tendency whereas a demotive decreases it. However, can we label every type of negative influence as a 'demotive'? Not necessarily. To illustrate the problem, here are three negative factors that we would not refer to as demotivation:

1. An attractive alternative action that serves as a powerful distraction (e.g. watching a good film on TV instead of writing one's homework).

2. The gradual loss of interest in a long-lasting, ongoing activity.

3. The sudden realisation that the costs of pursuing a goal are too high (e.g. when someone recognises how demanding it is to attend an evening course while working during the day).

In what way are these negative factors different from the phenomena described above?

1. Powerful distractions are not demotives in the same sense as, say, public humiliation, because they do not carry a negative value: instead of *reducing* the actual motivation towards the original activities, their distracting effect is due to presenting *more attractive* options. In racing terms, this would be the case when a runner is doing very well indeed yet does not win the race because there is someone who is doing even better on that particular day. We can only speak about demotivation proper when something *slows down* the runner.

2. The gradual loss of interest is also different from a proper demotivating event because – again using the racing metaphor – it reflects the runner's losing speed caused by, say, exhaustion or ageing, rather than by a particular incident in a particular race.

3. With regard to the sudden recognition of the costs of an activity, this is the result of an *internal* process of deliberation, without any specific external trigger. However, if something prompted the termination of action (e.g. the persuasion of an influential friend), that would be a different situation altogether and would be a case of demotivation.

In view of the above considerations, 'demotivation' in the following will concern *specific external forces that reduce or diminish the motivational basis of a behavioural intention or an ongoing action*.

Demotivation does not mean that all the positive influences that originally made up the motivational basis of a behaviour have been annulled; rather, it is only the resultant force that has been dampened by a strong negative component, and some other positive motives may still remain operational. For example, a learner who has lost his or her interest in studying Esperanto because the Esperanto teacher turned out to be an insensitive bully may still believe in the important role of Esperanto as a potential lingua franca in the world.

Although the term 'demotivation' is virtually unused in motivational psychology, a related concept, 'amotivation' is a constituent of Deci

and Ryan's (1985) self-determination theory (Section 2.1.3) (see Concept 6.1). Are we talking about the same thing? Not quite. 'Amotivation' refers to a *lack* of motivation caused by the realisation that *'there is no point . . .'* or *'it's beyond me . . .'*. Thus, 'amotivation' is related to general outcome expectations that are unrealistic for some reason, whereas 'demotivation' is related to specific external causes. Some demotives can lead to general amotivation regarding the particular activity (e.g. a series of bad classroom experiences can reduce the learner's self-efficacy) but with some other demotives as soon as the detrimental external influence ceases to exist, other positive, and thus far oppressed, motives may again get the upper hand (e.g. if it turns out that someone who dissuaded the individual from doing something was not telling the truth).

Concept 6.1   Deci and Ryan's notion of 'amotivation'

'Amotivation' as defined by Deci and Ryan (1985) refers to the relative absence of motivation that is not caused by a lack of initial interest but rather by the individual's experiencing feelings of incompetence and helplessness when faced with the activity. According to Vallerand's (1997) overview, it can have four sources. People can be amotivated because

- they think they lack the ability to perform the behaviour ('capacity–ability beliefs');
- they do not consider the strategies to be followed effective enough ('strategy beliefs');
- they think the effort required to reach the outcome is far too excessive ('capacity–effort beliefs');
- they have the general perception that their efforts are inconsequential considering the enormity of the task to be accomplished ('helplessness beliefs').

6.2   Research on demotivation in instructional communication studies

Since motivation is a central component in a number of diverse research disciplines which all focus on behavioural issues in one way or

another (for an overview, see Section 10.1), it should not come as a surprise that we find the only systematic line of research on demotivation in a seemingly unrelated discipline, a subfield of (L1) communication studies: *instructional communication research*. This area of investigation is grounded in the assumption that the classroom is a relevant context to study L1 communication (e.g. between the teacher and the students) and that the analysis of classroom interaction and instructional outcomes has important theoretical and practical implications (cf. Christophel and Gorham, 1995). In Section 2.2.1, we already saw how the teachers' use of immediacy behaviours (i.e. verbal and non-verbal behaviours which reduce physical and/or psychological distance between teachers and their students) affects student motivation, and it was a logical extension of this research paradigm to look at the negative impact of certain (mainly but not necessarily teacher-related) factors (for reviews, see Christophel and Gorham, 1995; Gorham and Christophel, 1992).

Two different investigations of demotivation by Christophel and Gorham (1995; Gorham and Christophel, 1992), using both qualitative and quantitative techniques, generated consistent results: approximately two-thirds of the reported sources of demotivation in these studies were 'teacher-owned', that is, the lack of motivation was attributed to what the teacher had done or had been responsible for. Gorham and Christophel (1992) also presented a rank order of the frequency of the various demotives (conceptualised as broad categories rather than specific events/behaviours) mentioned by the students. The first five categories were as follows:

1. Dissatisfaction with grading and assignments.
2. The teacher being boring, bored, unorganised and unprepared.
3. The dislike of the subject area.
4. The inferior organisation of the teaching material.
5. The teacher being unapproachable, self-centred, biased, condescending and insulting.

Although some of the demotivator categories in Gorham and Christophel's (1992) study would not be considered 'demotives' according to the definition used in this chapter, the general finding that negative teacher behaviours were perceived as central to students' demotivation is fully consistent with the results obtained in the L2 field (see below). The teachers' responsibility in demotivating students was further confirmed by an additional finding by Christophel and Gorham

(1992), namely that teachers who used appropriate immediacy behaviours were significantly less frequently mentioned in connection with demotivation than teachers with non-immediate behaviours.

More recently, the significance of teacher behaviours in demotivating students has been highlighted in a cross-cultural investigation of college classrooms spanning China, Germany, Japan and the US (Zhang, 2007). While some cross-cultural variation was found in the magnitude of teacher behaviours as predictors of student demotivation, Zhang's research confirmed a significant association between teacher variables and student demotivation across all contexts investigated, with teacher incompetence emerging as the main source of demotivation within and across cultures.

6.3   Findings in L2 motivation research

Instructional communication researchers have taken an interest in demotivation because it was found to be a frequent phenomenon related to the teacher's interaction with the students. The interest in demotivation in L2 studies has been aroused by a different reason. The L2 domain is the area of education that is perhaps most often characterised by learning failure: nearly everybody has failed in the study of at least one language and it is not uncommon for someone to have failed in two or three languages. (As respective authors of this book, Zoltán's varying successes in English and German have been well counterbalanced by failures in Spanish, Portuguese, Latin and Russian; while Ema's varying successes in French and German have been similarly counterbalanced by failures in Irish and in Japanese literacy.) Thus, language-learning failure is a salient phenomenon and the study of its causes is often directly related to demotivation.

Yet, despite the widespread prevalence of language-learning failure, L2 demotivation remains a rather under-researched area, with a relatively short history of empirical literature stemming from the process-oriented period of L2 motivation research. We saw in Section 3.3.4 that the process-oriented period was characterised by a number of studies investigating global changes in motivation over an extended period of learning or across different year groups of students (e.g. Chambers, 1999; Gardner et al., 2004; Inbar et al., 2001; Tachibana et al., 1996; Williams et al., 2002). As we noted, these studies consistently confirmed a general pattern of demotivation among students as

the initial novelty of learning a language wears off and increasing cognitive, linguistic and curricular demands and social pressures set in.

In the following, we will present the main findings of some empirical studies which have focused partially or fully on investigating L2 demotivation, and consider issues and implications that these studies raise for how we may address and manage student demotivation.

6.3.1   Oxford's investigations

Oxford (1998) carried out a content analysis of essays written by approximately 250 American students (both in high schools and universities) about their learning experiences over a period of five years. During this time a variety of prompts were used, such as *'Describe a situation in which you experienced conflict with a teacher'* and *'Talk about a classroom in which you felt uncomfortable'*. In the content analysis of the data, four broad themes emerged:

1. *The teacher's personal relationship with the students*, including a lack of caring, general belligerence, hypercriticism and patronage/favouritism.
2. *The teacher's attitude towards the course or the material*, including lack of enthusiasm, sloppy management and close-mindedness.
3. *Style conflicts between teachers and students*, including multiple style conflicts, conflicts about the amount of structure or detail and conflicts about the degree of closure or 'seriousness' of the class.
4. *The nature of the classroom activities*, including irrelevance, overload and repetitiveness.

Although some of the prompts used by Oxford specifically referred to the teacher's role in causing demotivation, the general picture emerging from these essays is not unlike the conclusions arrived at in the communication studies presented above. Oxford (2001) subsequently extended this research enquiry to narratives from 473 student participants from a variety of language and cultural backgrounds, and analysed students' descriptive constructions of language teachers whom they especially liked or disliked, or with whom they experienced significant harmony or conflict. Focusing on the metaphors students used to describe teachers, Oxford was able to categorise these in terms of three major teaching approaches based on Lewin et al.'s (1939) classical analysis of leadership styles (see also Dörnyei and Murphey, 2003):

- the *autocratic approach*, which puts total power in the hands of the teacher and demonstrates large social distance (e.g. Teacher as Hanging Judge, Preacher, Tyrant);
- the *democratic/participatory approach*, which entails the sharing of power, responsibility and decision-making between teacher and students (e.g. Teacher as Family Member, Co-learner, Nurturer);
- the *laissez-faire approach*, which minimises the teacher's authority and involvement in decision-making (e.g. Teacher as Blind Eye, Bad Babysitter, Absentee).

With regard to student demotivation, the major negative influences were found to be teacher behaviours and attitudes associated with both autocratic and laissez-faire approaches – for example, 'sarcasm, frenetic pace, preaching or punitiveness, disinterest, inattention to students' needs, lack of organization or imagination' (Oxford, 2001: 107). In short, both too much and too little control by the teacher was perceived to be demotivating, impacting negatively on students' feelings, self-efficacy and sense of control. As Oxford (2001) concludes, teachers need to be alert to the strong links between their own behaviours and attitudes, and the motivation and performance of their students. Thus, while we emphasised in Section 5.2.1 that appropriate teacher behaviours constitute a powerful 'motivational tool', it is clear that teacher behaviours are also perceived by students to constitute a potent source of demotivation. Interestingly, however, teachers themselves may have a rather different perception, as we will see in the next study.

6.3.2   Chambers's investigation

The basic assumption in Chambers's (1993; see also 1999) study is the general view among language teachers that 'Arguably the biggest problem is posed by those pupils who are quite able but do not want to learn a foreign language and make sure that the teacher knows it!' (p. 13). To find out what goes on inside the heads of pupils who systematically 'dismantle' L2 lessons, Chambers visited four schools in Leeds (UK) and administered a questionnaire to 191 year nine pupils (age 13) enrolled in eight classes. A questionnaire was also filled in by seven teachers. It is interesting to learn – particularly in view of the earlier evidence pointing to the teachers' responsibility in generating demotivation – that the participating teachers perceived the causes of demotivation to be related to a variety of reasons (psychological, attitudinal, social, historical, geographical) which understandably did not include themselves.

As can be imagined, the students' responses were in a different vein. Although only 14 per cent view the modern language component of the curriculum as 'not essential' or a 'waste of time', 50 per cent go on record as not enjoying or loathing language learning. Their reasons are varied. Some blame their teachers for

- going on and on without realising that they've already lost everybody;
- not giving clear enough instructions;
- using inferior equipment (e.g. for listening tasks);
- not explaining things sufficiently;
- criticising students;
- shouting at them when they don't understand;
- using old-fashioned teaching materials, etc.

Others think the group is too big, the language room is too small and the furniture in it should facilitate different seating arrangements. One pupil would like to have two language teachers. In fact, as Chambers concludes, the data about what students like and dislike most are not conclusive: it seems that what one pupil likes, the next pupil detests.

Based on his data, Chambers (1993) could draw only few conclusions about the exact impact of the language-learning experience. It is clear that, in some cases, demotivation originated from home rather than from the classroom ('My brothers told me it would be boring'; p. 15) or from the pupils' previous experience in learning languages. Several students simply did not see the point of learning an L2 since their mother tongue was the world language ('Everybody should learn English'; p. 15; see also Section 6.4 below). In some cases, however, demotivation stemmed from the L2 class and the perception of the teacher. Demotivated learners in the survey appeared to possess very low self-esteem and needed extra attention and praise for what they could do and what they were good at, which they often did not receive ('I am no good so teachers ignore me'; p. 15). As Chambers concludes, 'pupils identified as demotivated do not want to be ignored or given up as a bad job; in spite of their behaviour, they want to be encouraged' (p. 16). He also reminds us that with some pupils it will appear that nothing works, but the problem in their cases may not necessarily be with learning languages but rather with learning in general, and 'we need to adjust the attitude of parents, friends and society before real success can be achieved' (p. 16).

> **Quote 6.1**   Chambers's conclusion about his study of demotivated pupils
>
> I started off with this little exercise to satisfy my curiosity. Far from being satisfied, I find that I am dealing not with a mole-hill but rather the mountain. . . . Perhaps this realisation alone will help me come to terms with the inadequacy I and others feel when dealing with demotivated pupils. It is a problem we all have. We cannot solve it alone. Seeking the help of pupils might be a good place to start. They could well be more cooperative than school management!
>
> Chambers (1993: 16)

6.3.3   Ushioda's investigation

As part of a qualitative investigation of effective motivational thinking of 20 Irish learners of French at Trinity College, Dublin (cf. also Sections 3.2.2 and 3.3.2), Ushioda (1998) asked the participants to identify what they found to be demotivating in their L2-related learning experience. As Ushioda summarises, almost without exception, these demotives related to negative aspects of the institutionalised learning context, such as particular *teaching methods* and *learning tasks*. Ushioda emphasises that the learners in her sample did manage to sustain or revive their positive motivational disposition in the face of the various negative experiences, by using a number of effective self-motivating strategies (Section 5.2.3), such as:

- setting oneself short-term goals,
- positive self-talk,
- indulging in an enjoyable L2 activity that is 'not monitored in any way by the teacher or by essays or exams' (p. 86), such as watching a film or listening to the radio, or even eavesdropping on the conversations of L2-speaking tourists in the shops.

> **Quote 6.2**   Ushioda on demotivation and self-motivation
>
> In the follow-up interview, subjects were simply asked to identify what they found to be demotivating in their learning experience. Their responses overwhelmingly targeted negative aspects of the institutionalised

learning framework, rather than personal factors such as falling grades or negative self-perceptions of ability. By projecting the responsibility of their loss of motivation onto external causes in this way, learners may be better able to limit the motivational damage and dissociate the negative affect they are currently experiencing from their own enduring motivation for wanting to learn the language. The process of affirming this sense of motivational autonomy becomes the process of self-motivation, or as one subject puts it, the process of *getting your motivation on line again*.

Ushioda (1998: 86)

In many learning contexts, however, exercising 'motivational autonomy' may prove difficult when there is a serious dissonance between the student's own motivational goals and preferences (e.g. to develop communicative skills in a learner-centred environment) and the teacher's instructional goals and methods (e.g. teacher-controlled drill and practice). As Lantolf and Genung (2002) report in their case-study of a student undertaking an intensive Chinese course, the demotivating effects of such dissonance can lead to resistance and then submission rather than autonomy, whereby the student's motivation eventually becomes restricted to passing the course to fulfil a requirement.

6.3.4 Dörnyei's investigation

The concluding words of Chambers's (1993) study pointed at the importance of communication and cooperation with the students, and, interestingly, the main lesson Oxford (1998) drew from her investigation was the same: 'We must listen to our students. We must directly address the important teacher- and course-specific aspects mentioned by students if we want students to be motivated to learn.' Therefore, it is perhaps no accident that an investigation of demotivation conducted by Dörnyei (1998) grew out of close cooperation with students. The original idea to focus on demotivated learners came from an MA student, Katalin Kohlmann (1996), during an academic advisory session, and the data for the project were gathered with the assistance of the participants of an MA course on 'Demotivation in Second Language Learning'. In addition, several fruitful discussions with students, more than a dozen course papers and two additional MA theses by Rudnai (1996) and Halmos (1997) served as further inspiration for the project.

The Dörnyei (1998) study differs from those by Oxford (1998), Chambers (1993) and Ushioda (1998) in that it focused specifically on learners who had been identified as demotivated, rather than looking at a general cross-section of students and asking them about bad learning experiences. Participants were 50 secondary school pupils in various schools in Budapest, studying either English or German as a foreign language, identified by their teachers or peers as being particularly demotivated. One-to-one interviews were conducted based on a set of core questions, and the data analysis followed a stepwise theme-based content analytical procedure. First, all the salient demotivating topics mentioned by the students were marked and common themes were established. For each student the most important demotivating factors were then identified. Finally, these primary demotives were tabulated according to the main categories established earlier. Only the primary demotives were tabulated and not all the negative issues mentioned by the students as it was assumed that some of the negative elements were only reflections of already existing demotivation; that is, we speculated that once a student had lost interest in learning the particular L2, everything related to that learning suddenly assumed a slightly negative undertone.

The results of the analysis are presented in Table 6.1. The table lists all the types of negative influence (nine altogether) which were mentioned by at least two students as the main sources of their demotivation. The nine categories accounted for a total of 75 corresponding occurrences in the transcripts. By far the largest category (with 40 per cent of the total frequency of occurrences) directly concerned the

Table 6.1   **Main demotivating factors identified by Dörnyei (1998)**

DEMOTIVATING FACTOR	*N*
1. The teacher (personality, commitment, competence, teaching method)	30
2. Inadequate school facilities (group is too big or not the right level; frequent change of teachers)	11
3. Reduced self-confidence (experience of failure or lack of success)	11
4. Negative attitude towards the L2	9
5. Compulsory nature of L2 study	4
6. Interference of another foreign language being studied	3
7. Negative attitude towards L2 community	3
8. Attitudes of group members	2
9. Coursebook	2

teacher (his or her personality, commitment to teaching, attention paid to the students, competence, teaching method, style, rapport with students), which is fully consistent with the results reported by other researchers. A further 15 per cent of the occurrences also concerned the teacher, although indirectly, through the learner's *reduced self-confidence* that was partly due to some classroom event within the teacher's control (e.g. perception of too strict marking). Together these two categories made up for more than half of all the demotivating factors mentioned.

Significant proportions (more than 10 per cent) of the demotives were accounted for by a further two factors:

- *inadequate school facilities* (group is too big or not the right level; frequent change of teachers),
- *negative attitude towards the L2* (i.e. dislike of the way the language sounds and/or operates).

Although the motivational impact of the former is obvious, motivation scholars tend to overlook the fact that objective school conditions can constitute an 'affective filter' that is powerful enough to block even the best intentions on the students' or teachers' part. The second factor, the emerging dislike of the L2, is related to the fact that launching into the study of a L2 is like signing a blank cheque, since learners have only a vague idea at best about what the language will be like. A closer contact with the L2, then, results in strong evaluative feelings (both positive and negative), which in turn affect subsequent commitment to learning the language. The significant variation in student perceptions of different L2s was also confirmed by Ludwig (1983) in a large-scale study of American college students learning French, German and Spanish. In Ludwig's sample, for example, French was typically seen as *attractive* and *romantic*, probably because 'it sounds neat' (p. 225), and the author also reports strong feelings about the grammar of the various L2s under examination. More recently, Williams et al. (2002) uncovered differences in boys' attitudes to learning French and German in British secondary schools, with a marked preference for German since, as one high proficiency boy put it, 'French is the language of love and stuff' while German is 'the war, Hitler and all that' (p. 520).

6.3.5   Sakai and Kikuchi's investigation

While empirical investigations focusing explicitly on L2 demotivation still remain scarce, Dörnyei's (1998) study has recently stimulated a

wave of research in Japan where demotivation among learners of English seems to be a major educational concern. Nakata (2006), for example, voices the commonly held view that the Japanese educational system produces students with poor English communication skills and low motivation to learn English. In a small-scale study, Kikuchi (2009) used a combination of qualitative interviews with five university students and open-ended questionnaire data from 42 university students who were asked to reflect on their current and especially their high school English learning experiences, motivation and attitudes. Analysis of the data uncovered five demotivating factors in the high school context:

- teacher behaviours,
- grammar translation method,
- tests and university entrance examinations,
- focus on memorisation,
- textbooks and reference books.

Kikuchi (2009) concludes that many demotives in the Japanese high school context relate to the traditional teacher-fronted grammar-translation approach and rote learning for university entrance exams. He notes with optimism that recent educational reforms in Japan herald a shift towards more English-medium teaching with a greater emphasis on developing oral communication skills, and the intention is that these changes should be reflected also in the focus and design of high school and university entrance exams.

In a more large-scale investigation, Sakai and Kikuchi (2009) reviewed a number of locally published studies of demotivation in the Japanese EFL context (e.g. Falout and Maruyama, 2004; Hasegawa, 2004; Ikeno, 2002; Tsuchiya, 2006) and identified six common demotivating features:

- *teachers* (e.g. attitudes, behaviour, teaching competence, language proficiency, personality, teaching style);
- *characteristics of classes* (e.g. course content and pace, focus on difficult grammar and vocabulary, monotonous lessons, focus on university entrance exams and memorisation);
- *experience of failure* (e.g. disappointing test scores, lack of acceptance by teachers and others, inability to memorise vocabulary and idioms);
- *class environment* (e.g. attitudes of classmates and friends, compulsory nature of English study, inappropriate level of the lessons, inadequate use of school facilities and resources);

- *class materials* (e.g. unsuitable or uninteresting materials, too many reference books or handouts);
- *lack of interest* (e.g. perception that English learnt at school is not practical or necessary, lack of admiration for English speaking people).

Based on these six areas, Sakai and Kikuchi developed a 35-item questionnaire to investigate demotives among students ($n = 656$) from four Japanese senior high schools and factor analysed the data. Five clear factors emerged: (1) Learning Contents and Materials; (2) Teachers' Competence and Teaching Styles; (3) Inadequate School Facilities; (4) Lack of Intrinsic Motivation; (5) Test Scores. Analysis of the descriptive statistics showed that the two factors with the highest mean rating for demotivation were Learning Contents and Materials, and Test Scores. Contrary to expectation and previous research findings (Sections 6.3.1 and 6.3.4), teacher variables did not emerge as the strongest demotivating factor, but on a par with a cluster of internal variables classified as Lack of Intrinsic Motivation. This latter finding leads the researchers to speculate whether demotivation relates exclusively to external contextual forces (see Section 6.1 above) or whether it might also implicate internal forces. However, it is worth noting that their Lack of Intrinsic Motivation factor includes an item reflecting external constraints 'English was a compulsory subject', while its other constituent items concern statements about loss of interest, goal or purpose rather than about underlying causes per se.

6.3.6   Falout, Elwood and Hood's investigation

The extent to which internal factors are implicated in demotivation is an issue that has also been raised in other research studies in the Japanese context. In a study comparing lower and higher proficiency university learners of English, for example, Falout and Maruyama (2004) found that lower proficiency learners reported experiencing demotivation earlier in their formal schooling and were more likely to attribute their demotivation to internal factors, such as disappointment in performance or reduced self-confidence. Higher proficiency learners, on the other hand, tended to attribute their demotivation to external factors, such as teachers. Thus lower proficiency learners may become trapped in a self-perpetuating negative cycle of reduced self-confidence, demotivation and poor performance.

More recently, Falout et al. (2009) have explored these issues further in a large-scale investigation of 900 university EFL students in Japan

(for an overview of the study, see Study 9.6 in Chapter 9). They developed a 52-item questionnaire focusing on motivating and demotivating experiences and conditions as well as students' reactive behaviours to these, based on the findings from previous research on demotivation, particularly in the Japanese EFL context. Three research questions underpin their study:

1. Which demotivating factor has the most negative influence on EFL learning in this context?
2. To what degree do past demotivating experiences correlate with present proficiency?
3. Do lower proficiency learners show less capacity to self-regulate when experiencing demotivation?

To address Research Question 1, the researchers factor analysed the data and identified nine factors that explained over 57 per cent of the variance. These were categorised as follows:

- three external factors: *teacher immediacy; grammar-translation; course level*;
- three internal factors: *self-denigration (combining reduced self-confidence and self-blame); value; self-confidence*;
- three reactive factors: *help-seeking; enjoyment-seeking*.

As the researchers report, not all of these factors were perceived as negative influences on motivation. *Teacher immediacy* in fact had the highest average value of the nine factors, indicating that most students had positive perceptions of their teachers and found their teachers inspiring rather than negative influences on their motivation. *Grammar-translation*, on the other hand, had the lowest average value, corroborating Kikuchi's (2009) findings that this dominant pedagogy lies at the root of motivational problems in the Japanese EFL context.

To investigate relationships between past demotivating experiences and present proficiency (Research Question 2), the researchers divided the sample into high, middle and low proficiency learners, based on standardised English language test scores, and conducted a stepwise multiple regression analysis with these test scores as the dependent variables and the nine factors as the independent variables. Four demotivating factors correlated with proficiency in the multiple regression: *enjoyment-seeking* (0.36); *self-denigration* (−0.16); *help-seeking* (−0.24); *self-confidence* (0.22). Accordingly, the researchers speculated that internal or reactive factors of demotivation may be stronger determinants of

learning outcomes than external factors. In relation to internal factors, the findings suggested that more proficient learners may build self-confidence in L2 learning while less proficient learners tend to respond with self-denigration when they experience lack of success. Similarly, help-seeking behaviours were associated with lower proficiency learners, while higher proficiency learners were less likely to rely on others when demotivated and more likely to regulate their own learning by engaging in enjoyable and intrinsically motivating activities, a finding that parallels Ushioda's (1998) study above.

This relationship between proficiency level and capacity for self-regulation (Research Question 3) was further investigated by means of a series of ANOVAs in respect of proficiency level, year of study and English major versus non-major groups. *Enjoyment-seeking* emerged consistently strongly with the largest difference in means when comparing high and low proficiency learners, senior and freshman learners, and English majors and non-majors. The researchers speculate that students more prone to demotivation are those who have less L2 learning experience (e.g. freshman English non-majors) and who are less proficient, since such students may be less able to self-regulate their affective states when they face demotivators (e.g. difficult courses or textbooks) or experience demotivation.

Falout et al.'s research thus raises interesting questions about the complex interactions among internal and external factors, proficiency level, learning experience and self-regulatory capacity in the analysis of demotivation. Nevertheless, they conclude their article by emphasising the primary responsibility of teachers and educational policymakers in optimising the external conditions and factors that influence the internal conditions and reactive behaviours of students, in order to ensure that students are protected from loss of self-confidence and enabled to develop adaptive self-regulatory skills. We will consider this issue of responsibility from a more critical perspective in the next section.

6.4   Critical factors in the broader sociocultural context

From a pedagogical and educational perspective, one can argue that there may be ethical concerns in locating the causes of student demotivation or disaffection internally – that is, in effect laying the blame to some extent on students themselves. This is the position taken by Terry

Lamb (2009), who maintains that we need instead to adopt a critical perspective in which the education system, rather than the students, should be viewed as the problem. Conceptualising disaffection as a 'search for a voice in the context of disenfranchisement' (p. 68), Lamb discusses focus group research data from motivated and demotivated young teenage language learners in a northern English school, who voice a desire to be able to exercise choices about their learning and who talk openly about issues of control, power and responsibility in their relations with their teachers. Drawing on these learners' voices, Lamb presents the case for developing classroom participatory structures through which learners can express their opinions and be heard as well as negotiate and compromise; and for resisting the imposition of learning which is not perceived to be relevant or where the relevance is not made clear, and finding appropriate and viable learning alternatives.

> **Quote 6.3** lamb on a critical theory perspective on demotivation
>
> I take the position that locating the problem of poor motivation in learners themselves is socially unjust. Blaming the learners or their families for underachievement or lack of motivation is problematic, especially given the differential levels of achievement and engagement between children of different socio-economic and ethnic backgrounds. . . . Rejection of such deficit theories leads to a more critical perspective, in which the education system itself (curriculum, structures, etc.) is construed as the problem, clearly failing particular sections of the population.
>
> Lamb (2009: 67–8)

Lamb develops his argument in the context of foreign language learning in English secondary education, a context where issues of declining motivation and lack of student interest are especially acute, as numerous recent surveys and analyses have shown (e.g. Coleman, 2009; Coleman et al., 2007; Dearing and King, 2007; King, 2003; Macaro, 2008). While part of the problem may reside in the educational system and structures as Lamb suggests, it is also likely that we need to look further afield to the attitudes and discourses which prevail in the wider sociocultural context, and which may impact negatively on students' motivation to learn foreign languages. This is the argument put forward by Coleman (2009) in his incisive critique of why the British do not learn foreign languages, in which he draws explicit connections

between school pupils' declining motivation for foreign language learning and the discourses of British insularity, monolingualism, anti-Europeanism and xenophobia that have increasingly pervaded political debate and policy-making as well as the popular print and broadcast media in the UK. Clearly, the fact that English has become a global language and international lingua franca serves only to strengthen these discourses and persuade many native speakers of English that learning other foreign languages is unnecessary. As Coleman argues, any country which perceives itself as monolingual will be at best apathetic and at worst hostile to the acquisition and use of other languages, and he notes that the UK shares this damaging autostereotype with other Anglophone countries such as New Zealand and the US.

However, it seems that the negative impact of Global English (and its associated discourses) on motivation for learning foreign languages is far from confined to Anglophone countries. For example, Kubota (2002) discusses educational reforms in Japan in which discourses of internationalisation are underpinned by the message that English is *the* international language, so that 'English' becomes synonymous with 'foreign language' (p. 19), resulting in a heavy bias towards 'white middle class English and essentialised Anglo culture' (p. 27) rather than the rich international diversity of other languages and cultures. Declining student motivation for learning additional foreign languages other than English has also been highlighted as a cause for concern in Scandinavia (e.g. Henry and Apelgren, 2008; Trebbi, 2003), and emerged as a significant trend in Dörnyei et al.'s (2006) longitudinal survey of Hungarian teenagers' language learning attitudes and motivation (see Section 3.3.4). Furthermore, where students are learning two or more foreign languages, processes of interference may impact negatively on motivation for one or other language (Csizér and Dörnyei, 2005). Given the power and status of English as global language and increasingly as a basic educational skill (Graddol, 2006), such negative interference in relation to motivation for learning other languages seems set to continue (at least, according to Graddol, until the second decade of this century when skills in additional languages may be perceived to give people a competitive edge, as English skills become common place). Furthermore, with the growing importance of English in the curriculum and its gatekeeping role in many sectors of education and employment in different countries, the pressure of high stakes English language tests and examinations also seems set to continue, creating unhealthy dissonances in students' motivation whereby any intrinsic interest they may have in developing communication skills in English

may have to yield to the overriding need to learn English for examinations and meet externally imposed requirements (e.g. Chen et al. 2005; Ryan, 2009a).

Outside the classroom, dissonances and ambivalences in English language learners' motivational investment in the language may also arise through negative gatekeeping encounters they have with native speakers in various social settings or the workplace where they feel marginalised or denied voice and access (e.g. Norton, 2000, 2001). In this latter regard, however, it should be noted that the impact of negative social experiences and cultural encounters on L2 motivation is not of course confined to the case of English. Issues of access, negotiation of identities, marginalisation, discrimination and inequitable power relations abound in the critical literature on language learning and use in multilingual contexts and migrant communities (e.g. Bremer et al., 1996; Pavlenko and Blackledge, 2004). Moreover, a growing body of research on language learning and use in study abroad contexts has also highlighted the social and cultural dimension of the study abroad experience as a critical influence (often positive but also often negative) on L2 learners' motivation (e.g. Isabelli-García, 2006; Kinginger, 2004). As Ushioda (2006) emphasises, these critical perspectives on L2 motivation and language use in multilingual settings highlight the fact that motivation is not only socially constructed but also potentially constrained through processes of social interaction, and through restrictive linguistic practices that disadvantage and negatively position non-native speakers.

6.5   Concluding remarks on demotivation

In sum, where the analysis of demotivation is concerned, it is clear that dynamic interactions with the immediate and wider social context of L2 learning, use and experience are central. Thus, the current shift towards socio-dynamic perspectives on L2 motivation research (Chapter 4) seems well suited to investigating the 'dark side' of motivation as well. At this stage, the main conclusion we can draw from the studies reviewed above is that demotivation is a salient phenomenon in L2 studies and that teachers and educational systems have a considerable responsibility in this respect, but we also cannot ignore the potentially equally pernicious influences of attitudes and discourses that prevail in society at large over which we as educators have little

control. Accordingly, we would like to emphasise that demotivation is a complex issue and the current analysis should be seen as a mere introduction. More research is needed to determine the following:

- How do demotives interplay with more general motivational dispositions and the learners' personality characteristics? Why is it that learners show a considerable variation in the extent of their demotivation under the same adverse conditions?

- Are demotives restricted to the particular situation in which they were generated or are the bad experiences generalised across situations (e.g. will someone resume learning with enthusiasm once the 'loathed' teacher is replaced)? The literature on 'learned helplessness' (see Section 2.2.1) suggests that one's demolished self-concept is very hard to rebuild, but other types of demotives (such as boring classes) may lend themselves more easily to amendment.

- What consequences does demotivation have on the validity of motivation measurement? Given the significant impact demotivation can have on the learner's overall motivational disposition, we must question the validity of tests that mainly focus on the availability of positive motivational inducements, since it is not obvious that the negative influence of a demotive will be reflected sufficiently in the decrease of the positive scores on the other variables.

- What kinds of demotives operate in independent language learning contexts such as traditional forms of distance learning as well as current technologically-mediated forms of e-learning and learning in virtual environments, where amount of social contact with peers and tutors is restricted and learners must inevitably be more self-reliant? (For promising work in this regard, see Hurd, 2007, 2008.)

Teacher motivation

This chapter will . . .

- analyse the unique characteristics of the 'motivation to teach';
- describe what we know about the motivation of language teachers;
- examine the interrelationship between teacher motivation and student motivation.

Until very recently, the issue of *teacher motivation* had received rather little attention in educational psychology, with few publications discussing the nature of the 'motivation to teach', although some work was being done on related issues such as teachers' job satisfaction, stress and burnout (see e.g. Evans, 1998, 2001; Dinham and Scott, 2000; Zhang and Sapp, 2008). In 1997, American psychologist Csikszentmihalyi stated that he was not aware of a single study relating a teacher's motivation to the effectiveness of his or her teaching and to the motivation of his or her students. This is all the more surprising because, as we have seen earlier (Section 5.2.1), the teacher's level of enthusiasm and commitment is one of the most important factors that can affect learners' motivation to learn. Broadly speaking, if a teacher is motivated to teach, there is a good chance that his or her students will be motivated to learn.

Within the last few years, however, there has been a marked growth of literature in the area of teacher motivation in educational psychology and teacher education, with researchers from different parts of the world contributing to what Watt and Richardson (2008a: 405) have called a '*Zeitgeist* of interest' in the topic, in their editorial introduction to a recent special issue of *Learning and Instruction* devoted to

'Motivation for teaching'. As they explain, the literature on teacher motivation broadly addresses three main areas: (1) issues concerning career choice among teachers; (2) complexities during the teaching process; and (3) important factors that impact on the development of teachers and their students. The first of these areas is to some extent outside the focus and scope of this book, and in this chapter we will concentrate more on the second and third areas, paying particular attention to the interactions and relationships among teacher motivation, student motivation and contextual factors. We will begin by discussing how the 'motivation to teach' has been theorised in general terms within the fields of educational psychology and teacher education, and then examine the small but growing body of empirical literature on the motivation of L2 teachers. We will conclude this chapter by considering the motivational interactions among teachers, learners and contextual factors.

Quote 7.1 Whitaker, Whitaker and Lumpa introducing their book on 'Motivating and Inspiring Teachers'

All educators entered the profession with the idea of positively impacting young people. However, completing paperwork, resolving conflicts, and maintaining the high level of energy needed each day can take their toll on this positive focus. . . . The challenge for us in education is to remember that we have chosen the most important profession, and it is essential that we remind ourselves of this every day. The additional challenge for educational leaders is to help those we work with feel this level of importance each day. In education, we cannot afford to have a bad day simply because the students we work with never deserve to have a bad day because of us . . .

Each individual idea presented in this book is understandable and simple. Like most things of value, however, they are simple – but not easy. The easy things we have already accomplished.

Whitaker et al. (2009: xv, xviii)

7.1   Conceptualising the 'motivation to teach'

How can we conceptualise the 'motivation to teach'? In what way is it different from the motivation to pursue other activities? In the most

general sense, the understanding of teacher motivation requires no special treatment since 'teaching' is just one type of human behaviour and therefore general models of motivation to act should be applicable to describing it. Indeed, scholars have argued that teacher motivation can be best understood in the light of expectancy-value theories (e.g. McKeachie, 1997; Mowday and Nam, 1997; Watt and Richardson, 2008b), self-efficacy theory (e.g. Ashton, 1985), goal-setting theory (e.g. Latham et al., 1997), goal-orientation theory (e.g. Butler and Shibaz, 2008; Malmberg, 2008), and self-determination theory (e.g. Csikszentmihalyi, 1997; Deci et al., 1997; Kunter et al., 2008; Roth et al., 2007). In other words, the various approaches closely reflect those in general motivation theories in terms of the underlying principles and their diversity. Researchers have also highlighted the relevance of social contextual factors (e.g. Bess, 1997; Fives and Alexander, 2004; Pelletier et al., 2002) and temporal variation, including developmental processes (e.g. Alexander, 2008; Blackburn, 1997), which suggests that this subfield of motivational psychology is no less complex than the understanding of motivation in general. In addition, the analysis of teacher motivation also draws on the literature on health and personality psychology, particularly in relation to issues of stress and burnout (e.g. Kieschke and Schaarschmidt, 2008).

The other side of the coin, however, is that with such a specific professional activity as teaching it might be realistic to expect to find certain unique motivational characteristics – for example, to identify some factors that have a special significance in terms of their impact on the motivation complex underlying teaching. Indeed, a review of the literature suggests that four motivational aspects are particularly featured with respect to teacher motivation:

1. It involves a prominent *intrinsic component* as a main constituent.
2. It is very closely linked with *contextual factors*, associated with the institutional demands and constraints of the workplace, and the salient social profile of the profession.
3. Along with all the other types of career motivation, it concerns an extended, often lifelong, process with a featured *temporal axis* (which is most clearly reflected when talking about career structures and promotion possibilities).
4. It appears to be particularly *fragile*, that is, exposed to several powerful negative influences (some being inherent in the profession).

We will discuss these four points in more detail in the following subsections.

7.1.1   The intrinsic component of teacher motivation

The fact that teaching is more closely associated with *intrinsic motivation* than many other behavioural domains may not come as a surprise to many readers. 'Teaching' as a vocational goal has always been associated with the internal desire to educate people, to impart knowledge and values, and to advance a community or a whole nation. This is very clearly reflected in a large-scale survey of over 2,000 teachers in England, Australia and New Zealand by Dinham and Scott (2000), in which the researchers found that the option 'I always wanted to become a teacher' was the most frequently endorsed reason for entering the profession in all three countries (with 45–49 per cent of the teachers agreeing with it). Furthermore, in all three countries the intrinsic rewards of teaching were the most satisfying aspects of the profession. More recently in a survey of 1,653 pre-service teachers in Australia (Richardson and Watt, 2006), the intrinsic value of teaching and desire to make a social contribution, shape the future and work with children/adolescents emerged among the highest rated motivations for choosing teaching as a career.

What kinds of intrinsic rewards are we talking about with regard to teaching? Csikszentmihalyi (1997) separates two sources of such rewards:

- the *educational process itself* (i.e. working with students and experiencing the changes in the students' performance and behaviour attributable to the teacher's action);
- the *subject matter* (i.e. dealing with a valued field and continuously integrating new information in it, thereby increasing one's own level of professional skills and knowledge).

In anticipation of such intrinsic rewards, most people who go into teaching are ready to forgo high salaries and social recognition – a fact that is recognised and abused by many national governments.

> **Quote 7.2** Deci, Kasser and Ryan on the intrinsic rewards of teaching
>
> Guiding the intellectual and emotional development of students, whether in nursery school or graduate school, can be profoundly gratifying for teachers, satisfying their psychological needs and contributing to their growth as individuals.
>
> Deci et al. (1997: 57)

Let us stop for a moment to examine the issue of 'psychological needs' mentioned by Deci et al. (1997) when talking about intrinsic rewards in Quote 7.2. As seen in Section 2.1.3, Deci and Ryan (1985) postulated three basic human needs that are related to intrinsically motivated behaviour:

- *autonomy* (i.e. experiencing oneself as the origin of one's behaviour);
- *relatedness* (i.e. feeling close to and connected to other individuals);
- *competence* (i.e. feeling efficacious and having a sense of accomplishment).

Teaching, ideally, satisfies the first two of these human needs: a teacher is fairly autonomous in dealing with a class, and the school community (both staff and students) provides a rich and intensive human environment. The critical issue, then, is 'competence' or, using a more technical term, the teachers' sense of *efficacy*, which refers to 'their belief in their ability to have a positive effect on student learning' (Ashton, 1985: 142; see also Fives and Alexander, 2004; Tschannen-Moran and Woolfolk Hoy, 2001). This can be divided into two hierar-chically organised dimensions:

- *teaching efficacy*, referring to the teachers' general beliefs about the possibility of producing student learning in the face of multiple obstacles (e.g. unsupportive home environment);
- *personal efficacy*, referring to the teacher's personal appraisal of his or her own effectiveness as a pedagogue.

Extending our conceptual net further, although intrinsic interest in and enjoyment of teaching are primary constituents of teacher motiv-ation, Latham et al. (1997) reason that – in line with the main tenets of goal-setting theory (Section 2.1.2) – instructors will be most persistent when they also have clear and feasible *goals* to achieve. This makes sense, since in the case of such a complex process as teaching, one needs explicit guidelines and standards to keep one's behaviour on track. However, Latham and his colleagues also emphasise that wise goal setting alone will not necessarily improve performance or increase the motivation of a teacher, because frequent *performance feedback* is also needed to obtain good results. Combining this with the intrinsic factors discussed above, we have a picture that is in accordance with the dominant view of work motivation in organisational psychology (Hackman, 1991), which maintains that work will be more motivat-ing when

- it is *meaningful* (i.e. it requires a multiplicity of skills, is a whole unit rather than an unintelligible part, and is clearly important to others);
- it allows *autonomy* (i.e. the worker is given control of what, how, and when the work is done);
- it provides *feedback* (i.e. the worker has knowledge of results).

In sum, the intrinsic dimension of teacher motivation is related to the inherent joy of pursuing a meaningful activity related to one's subject area of interest, in an autonomous manner, within a vivacious collegial community, with self-efficacy, instructional goals and performance feedback being critical factors in modifying the level of effort and persistence.

7.1.2   Teacher motivation and social contextual influences

A characteristic feature of most vocation-specific motivation constructs is that they concern a peculiar situation whereby the individual is paid to act according to an externally imposed job description within an organisational framework. And even though young people are often encouraged to select a job that suits their personal interests and intrinsic vocational desires, organisations are 'achievement-laden environments' (Blackburn, 1997: 321), and as organisational workers, teachers make 'commitments to produce that are sustained on the basis of inducements that the organisation offers' (Bess, 1997: 430). Thus, even with the best possible match between a profession and an individual, one's intrinsic motivation will be inevitably 'tainted' by the impact of external conditions and constraints. Accordingly, theories of job design in organisational psychology assume that the environment plays a crucial role in job motivation – that is, it is the work, not the worker, which affects persistence and performance (cf. Porter et al., 2003; Walker and Symons, 1997).

Traditionally, extrinsic influences on work motivation have been considered as one broad domain whose salient presence typically causes dissatisfaction but whose absence does not significantly increase job satisfaction, for example according to the classic Motivation-Hygiene Theory by Herzberg (1996). However, in their large-scale international study already mentioned, Dinham and Scott (2000) offer research evidence that contextual influences can be separated into two main categories that affect teacher satisfaction in different ways (see Concept 7.1):

- *school-based extrinsic factors* (micro-level) exert a varied impact, ranging between satisfying and dissatisfying, primarily as a function of the school leadership;
- *systemic/societal-level factors* (macro-level) such as the status and image of teachers or imposed educational changes, over which teachers and school have little control, function primarily as dissatisfiers.

Among the school factors, overall satisfaction was – not surprisingly – associated most strongly with the amount of workload, which is consistent with results reported by Blackburn (1997), namely that 'perceived expected effort' (i.e. the teacher's perception of the institutional demands) is one of the key determinants of teachers' work effort.

Concept 7.1   **Two levels of contextual influences on teacher motivation: macro and micro**

Similarly to social motivation in general – see Concept 1.2 on the individualistic and societal perspectives of the social world in Chapter 1 – we can separate *macro-* and *microcontextual influences* on teacher motivation. The former is associated with the general work ethos prevalent at the societal level. This macro-dimension is particularly featured in the case of teaching, because the profession is to accomplish one of the most prominent societal functions: bringing up and educating the next generation of people. For this reason, teaching is exposed to external influences from every layer of society, including politicians, parents and the media.

Microcontextual motives, on the other hand, are more closely related to the organisational climate of the particular institution in which the teacher works and the characteristics of the immediate teaching environment, that is, the classroom and the learner group. Particularly important school effects are exerted by factors such as:

- the school's general climate and the existing school norms;
- the class sizes, the school resources and facilities;
- the standard activity structure within the institution;
- collegial relations;
- the definition of the teacher's role by colleagues and authorities;
- general expectations regarding student potential;
- the school's reward contingencies and feedback system;
- the school's leadership and decision-making structure.

Fives and Alexander (2004) have conducted a meta-analysis of 28 empirical studies exploring relationships between contextual variables and teacher motivation in a range of educational settings. Analysing the emergent patterns across the studies, they identify *teacher efficacy* and *teacher commitment* as central motivational constructs in understanding the influence of context on teacher motivation. In particular, school climate, relationship with administrators, participation in school decision-making, student characteristics and school demographic factors are associated with organisational commitment – that is, the degree to which teachers internalise organisational goals and values and feel a sense of loyalty to the workplace. On the other hand, perceived teacher autonomy, student ability, school organisation and resources, teacher collaboration and an institutional culture that emphasises mastery of content over performance are associated with teacher efficacy.

Quote 7.3 **Fives and Alexander on the implications of contextual influences on teacher motivation**

While we recognise the exploratory nature of this review, we feel that tentative recommendations for educational practices can be offered based on the emergent patterns. Those emergent patterns suggest the importance of collaboration among teachers, shared beliefs throughout the school, a focus on academics, shared decision-making, and an overall sense of community. One factor that we believe underlies those intangibles is communication. Communication between and among teachers, administrators, and policymakers, as educational stakeholders, is necessary to achieve these desirable outcomes.

Fives and Alexander (2004: 355–6)

7.1.3   The temporal dimension of teacher motivation

Teacher motivation is not just about the motivation to teach but also about the motivation to be a teacher as a lifelong *career*. A career perspective highlights the temporal dimension of motivation in vocational engagements. The interlinked consecutive steps on a career path – defined by Raynor as the 'contingent path structure' (see Concept 7.2) – energise long-term achievement strivings in a very effective manner because they capitalise both on the intrinsic pleasure of being involved in one's profession and on various extrinsic rewards that career advancement brings about. However, if the career path is 'closed', that is, present

achievements do not create future career steps, this will have a marked negative impact on the individual's work morale. This issue, as we will see below, is of particular relevance to the teaching profession.

Concept 7.2　Raynor's conception of 'career' as a psychological construct and the 'contingent path'

Joel Raynor's work on long-term achievement strivings (such as pursuing a career) is highly relevant to the understanding of teacher motivation (Raynor, 1974a, 1974b; Raynor and Entin, 1983). He defines *careers* as 'interrelated sets of skill-demanding activities that are engaged in by individuals over time' (Raynor, 1974b: 371). To understand the motivational foundation of the pursuit of a career, Raynor introduces the concept of a *contingent path*, referring to a series of tasks where successful achievement is necessary to be guaranteed the opportunity to perform the next task, that is, to continue in the path (e.g. one needs to take an exam to be able to carry on studying towards a further exam and eventually a degree). This means that in a contingent path 'immediate success is known to guarantee the opportunity for subsequent career striving, and immediate failure is known to guarantee future career failure through loss of opportunity to continue that career path' (p. 372).

Raynor emphasises that from a path contingency perspective, external motives (e.g. money, power, prestige, security, public acclaim, approval of family and friends) are just as important determinants of career motivation as intrinsic ones (interest in the profession, acquisition of special competence, successful task completion). In fact, as he reasons, it is difficult to imagine any sustained motivational disposition in the vocational/career context without the mutually supportive existence of an underlying personal interest and a contingent path structure.

An important element of contingent path theory is the recognition that many careers are so structured that their hierarchy of advancement has a clearly defined final or upper plateau (i.e. a *closed* contingent path), while others are seen as essentially *open-ended*. In closed paths, achievement-related motivation decreases with advancement, whereas open paths sustain persistence and prolonged effort because additional possibilities for continued career-related striving become apparent as the individual moves along the career path.

Blackburn (1997) emphasises that the marked steps in a contingent path include not only 'rational, long-range, discernible plans in accordance with anticipated career stages' (p. 327) such as advancements in wealth and rank but also 'personally meaningful, idiosyncratic events' (p. 327) such as honours/awards, appointments, grant/travel opportunities

(e.g. conferences or study trips), memberships in professional societies, the possibility of preparing teaching materials and professional publications, etc. That is, the availability of seemingly secondary factors such as an award for 'excellence in teaching', recognition in a public ceremony or a certificate/plaque is crucial in outlining vocational contingencies.

Within the field of language education, Pennington (1995: 209–10) presents a 'sample career ladder' to demonstrate how possible advancement contingency paths can be established. Some steps in this structure include:

- the increased variety of courses taught;
- contribution to curriculum development;
- monitoring role with new faculty;
- being in charge of developing new courses/programmes;
- making conference presentations and/or preparing professional publications;
- serving as teaching consultant within and/or outside the institution;
- conducting teacher-training workshops (in-service programmes);
- developing materials for use in the home institutions and elsewhere.

However, while the notion of a contingent path or career ladder may clarify what external structures, opportunities and incentives need to be put in place to bolster the long-term motivation of teachers, Alexander (2008) notes that the literature has not yet elaborated a clear developmental model of teacher motivation that theorises how motives, cognitions, socio-contextual factors and day-to-day practices interact as teachers progress in their professional development (e.g. how teachers' motivational constructs may change as they gain more knowledge and hone their pedagogical skills and strategies). As we will see in Section 7.2, some promising work in this regard has recently been developed by Kubanyiova (2009) in the area of language teacher motivation and development.

7.1.4   Negative influences on teacher motivation

It was argued earlier that teaching can be profoundly gratifying for teachers, satisfying their psychological needs, thereby generating intrinsic pleasure to go with the job. Yet all too often, at each level of education, we find teachers who are frustrated, disaffected or just plain bored. One hears alarming reports indicating that a great proportion of teachers in many countries are *not* motivated to teach, and that this

tendency is actually getting worse. Dinham and Scott (2000) found that more than half of the teachers they surveyed in three countries (Australia, England and New Zealand) experienced a decline in satisfaction since beginning teaching. According to the OECD (2005), problems in recruiting and retaining teachers are becoming more and more acute in many European countries where other professional careers offer more attractive salaries, prospects, social prestige and working conditions. Watt and Richardson (2008b) report evidence from the UK that 40 per cent of teachers leave the profession within five years (cf. also Kyriacou and Kunc, 2006; Purcell et al., 2005), and from the US that 40 per cent of new teachers in some areas resign within two years (cf. also Weiss, 1999; Zhang and Sapp, 2008).

What is happening? What causes this motivational crisis? Part of the answer, we believe, lies in the fact that – as argued earlier – teaching is a profession whose pursuit is fuelled primarily by intrinsic motives and that there exist a number of detrimental factors that systematically undermine and erode the intrinsic character of teacher motivation. Leaving economic issues (such as low salaries) aside for the moment because they vary from country to country, and without aiming for comprehensiveness, there appear to be five general demotivating factors responsible for the erosion process:

- the particularly *stressful nature* of most teaching jobs;
- the *inhibition of teacher autonomy* by set curricula, standardised tests, imposed teaching methods, government mandated policies and other institutional constraints;
- *insufficient self-efficacy* on most teachers' part due to inappropriate training;
- *content repetitiveness* and *limited potential for intellectual development*;
- *inadequate career structures*.

While several other jobs undoubtedly share some of these features, it seems unlikely that there is any other qualified profession where almost every aspect of the motivational power base is being challenged to the same extent as in teaching.

Stress

School teaching is one of the most stressful professions. This is due to the combination of various reasons (e.g. bureaucratic pressure, lack of adequate facilities, low salaries), but one crucial contributing factor is

that teachers have to spend most of their working hours with groups of children or young adults. Dealing with youth is inherently difficult, requiring a constant state of alertness, and mistakes are punished dearly. Furthermore, teachers often deal with learners who are going through the most turbulent phases of their personal lives (e.g. adolescence), which is often reflected in increased rebelliousness and basic behavioural problems. It is difficult enough to control these students and keep them 'happy', but teachers also have to *teach* them subjects that many (or most) students would not have selected for themselves. No wonder that surveys typically reveal chronic stress at every level of education in most countries, which in turn results in frequent 'teacher burnout' (for reviews, see Farber, 1991; Vandenberghe and Huberman, 1999).

Based on the work of Menzies (1959), Ehrman and Dörnyei (1998) argue that in order to cope with the inherent stress, teachers protect themselves from anxiety by applying a number of defence mechanisms that increase structural rigidity in the social system. Some examples of such mechanisms are

- the splitting up of the teacher–student relationship through specialisation and subdivided tasks, resulting in a situation in which no one is responsible for interacting with students in all dimensions;
- the depersonalisation of the individual student and insistence that no one receives special treatment;
- the development of detachment and cynical attitudes, and denial of feelings (e.g. 'stiff upper lip' norms);
- attempts to reduce the need for decisions by reliance on ritualised task performance (e.g. by following routines and standard operating procedures whether they apply to the situation or not);
- the avoidance of change, inasmuch as the existing system, for all its surface dysfunctions (i.e. rigidity, less-than-effective response to individual student needs, and waste), plays an important role in helping members to cope with anxiety and with each other.

Although part of the stress is inherent in the teaching process itself, Pennington (1995: 109) argues that on-the-job stresses can be significantly mollified by providing structural support in the way of such resources as:

- an orderly and smoothly functioning environment;
- clean, adequately lit, sufficiently large, and well-equipped work spaces, including offices and classrooms;

- textbooks, teaching equipment and other teaching resources which are plentiful, in good condition and up-to-date;
- reasonable work responsibilities in terms of workload and nature of teaching assignment;
- moral and work support from administrators.

More recently, in a large-scale longitudinal study of professional commitment, coping and psychological well-being among teachers in Germany, Kieschke and Schaarschmidt (2008) have identified certain 'at risk' teacher types prone to stress. Those with high ideals and expectations who have a strong professional commitment but lack coping and emotional self-regulation skills may be especially vulnerable to the day-to-day stressful realities of the teaching process, and may experience psychological shock and painful motivational crises. As a defence strategy to avert such internal crises and minimise stress, Kieschke and Schaarschmidt recommend that teachers try to exercise a degree of 'emotional distancing', though this may be easier said than done. They also call for significant reforms in pre-service teacher education so that adequate attention is paid to the personality and health conditions that may impact on teachers' ability to manage stress effectively.

Restricted autonomy

The experience of frequent stress contributes significantly to the weakening of intrinsic motivation, but – in the light of self-determination theory – a factor that is perhaps even more potent in undermining teacher motivation is the restriction of teacher autonomy. As seen earlier (Section 7.1.2), education is an area that has a high social profile, and governments, educational authorities and various district school boards regularly impose normative constraints on schools in an attempt to bring the behaviour of teachers in line with some *a priori* criteria of effectiveness. This regularisation process can take the form of introducing nationwide standardised tests and national curricula, and the general mistrust towards teachers is also reflected by the increasing administration demands. Leaving aside whether these attempts are justified, it can be concluded from a purely motivational point of view that if the measures that are intended to produce better results introduce growing centralised control, this will impede teacher autonomy (which is one of the cornerstones of teacher motivation) and will therefore lead to the increased demoralisation of teachers (for recent

evidence, see Skaalvik and Skaalvik, 2009). Moreover, as Pelletier et al. (2002) report in their study of perceived pressures, motivation and classroom practices among 254 teachers, the less self-determined teachers feel towards teaching through their own lack of professional autonomy, the more likely they are to engage in controlling rather than autonomy-supportive practices with their students, thus perpetuating an increasingly negative cycle of teacher and student motivation. We will consider further the relationship between teacher and student motivation in Section 7.3 at the end of this chapter.

Insufficient self-efficacy

Deci and Ryan (1985) listed *competence* (i.e. feeling efficacious and having a sense of accomplishment) as one of the basic conditions of intrinsic motivation. Do teachers have sufficient competence to go about their jobs with confidence? The answer is usually negative. Teacher education has traditionally taken a very one-sided approach by placing most emphasis on subject-matter training, accompanied by some (often rather limited) participatory experience in an instructional context that is supposed to provide the practical skills. Teacher-training programmes do not as a rule include any awareness raising about how to manage groups (e.g. they do not cover the main principles of group dynamics and effective leadership strategies, and do not offer any training in interpersonal skills and conflict resolution). As a consequence, most newly qualified teachers are hit hard by the harsh reality of everyday classroom life, often referred to as the 'reality shock' (Veenman, 1984: 143). They are at a loss when something 'goes wrong' in the class, and because they lack any explicit skills in how to handle such inevitable crises, many of them change their original student-centred teaching behaviours and adopt a more authoritarian approach.

Quote 7.4 Alexander on teachers' fragile competence and insufficient training

Yet, although fragile competence may well be inherent in all academic or professional fields, it may be of particular concern within the teaching profession due to the lack of a developmental model and the accountability facing even acclimating or novice teachers. Specifically, within the United

> States and other countries, those who exit higher or tertiary education with a teaching certificate are given no quarter. Rather, they are presented with the same demands and held to the same standards for performance as those with multiple years of experience and documented abilities. There is the seeming belief that initial training provided to teacher candidates will suffice and put them on the same professional footing as those with many more years 'in the trenches'.
>
> Alexander (2008: 490)

In sum, we would like to argue that newly qualified teachers are thrown into very deep water, and unless they have a natural 'knack' for dealing with people, they easily misunderstand and mishandle the inevitable fluctuation of both emotions and productivity that social groups regularly experience. Thus, as a result of their lop-sided training, many teachers simply lack the skills necessary for doing well in the classroom. For them the task may be overly challenging and thus not intrinsically motivating. This insufficient self-efficacy or what Alexander (2008: 490) calls 'fragile competence' also contributes to the stress-generating nature of the profession (discussed above).

Lack of intellectual challenge

In a typical school setting, many teachers teach the same subject matter year after year, without any real opportunity from teaching to discover or acquire new knowledge, skills or abilities. A recurring complaint heard from classroom practitioners is that if they simply do their job they get tired of it after a while and 'lose the spark'. Indeed, meeting the prescribed requirements and covering the imposed course content in the same specialised sub-area of the curriculum does not allow many teachers much leeway to include variations and 'intellectual detours', and the classroom procedures can easily get routinised (Pennington, 1995). Naturally, there are exceptions to these generalisations, and successful teachers show a remarkable resourcefulness in making the time spent in the classroom rewarding for the students and for themselves, but for the average instructor teaching can easily become dreary work.

Inadequate career structure

We have seen above that teaching can be – with some exaggeration – a highly stressful and intellectually numbing process in which under-skilled practitioners try to survive against the odds under the suffocating constraints imposed on them. Unfortunately, this is not all; there is another major motivational impediment with regard to most teaching jobs: the lack of an appropriate *career structure* or professional contingent path. For someone who wishes to remain a classroom teacher rather than going into management there are usually very few areas of advancement or further goals to attain. As a result, teachers often feel that they have 'got stuck' or 'reached a plateau', and thinking about the time ahead of them before retirement causes absolutely no tingle of excitement. In other words, teaching offers a 'closed contingent path' (see Section 7.1.3).

While this situation is also characteristic of a great number of other occupations, we believe that teachers – with their high qualifications, ambitions and intrinsic job involvement – find it particularly difficult to live with the notion of 'futurelessness'. On the other hand, we also believe that this 'no-career-ladder' situation could be changed to some extent. Although educational settings will probably never be able to offer such an elaborate advancement path as there are, say, in the military or in certain business areas, we can envisage a sufficiently intricate future-oriented reward system of titles and responsibilities even in educational domains that can potentially fill the motivational hiatus caused by an inadequate career structure (for some examples, see Section 7.1.3). In recognition of the importance of this issue, several countries have considered introducing titles such as 'super-teachers' or 'master teachers' within the educational hierarchy.

In a review of the psychological literature on work satisfaction, Pennington (1995) makes a further important point concerning the temporal dimension of work motivation. She argues that work dissatisfaction tends to be associated with the concrete, daily characteristics of the employment situation, that is, the 'here and now' aspect; in contrast, work satisfaction is generally focused more broadly on the larger outlook of a whole career, such as future plans and goals. However, given the lack of a career path contingency for most teachers to provide this more long-term satisfaction, there is nothing to offset the day-to-day frustrations of their work. This implies that the real root of extensive complaints about teaching conditions may not lie

in those conditions themselves but rather in the teachers' gloomy career outlook.

Quote 7.5 Pennington on the role of future career perspectives in compensating for concerns with actual work conditions

Where an employee's future-oriented, long-term outlook is positive, there is less attention to the more immediate, quotidian framework. However, where the broad outlook is unsatisfactory and there seems little chance of career aspirations being met in a given work context, the employee's attention shifts to the immediate frame of reference, which assumes comparatively great importance.

Pennington (1995: 19–20)

7.1.5   Summary of the 'teacher motivation' construct

To summarise, the steadily growing literature on teacher motivation suggests a consistent picture, with teachers working in diverse geographical and subject-matter areas sharing certain powerful motivational themes that add up to a general 'teacher motivation' construct. Accordingly, we can describe the teaching profession as a body of highly qualified professionals with an intrinsically motivated and ideologically coloured commitment to pursue what they see as a largely fulfilling job. The profession, however, is struggling with serious difficulties that overshadow the satisfaction with the inherent qualities of the job, such as

- the exceptionally high stress level;
- the increasing restrictions of teaching autonomy (by externally imposed curricula, tests, methods and other directives);
- the fragile self-efficacy of practitioners, most of whom are undertrained in areas concerning group leadership and classroom management;
- the difficulty of maintaining an intellectual challenge in the face of repetitive content and routinised classroom practices;
- an inadequate career structure to generate effective motivational contingent paths;
- the economic conditions that are usually worse than those of other service professions with comparable qualifications (e.g. lawyers and doctors).

Example 7.1   A set of self-motivating strategies for teachers

- Reflect immediately after a lesson on how it went and make mental notes on what to do differently next time.
- Imagine being named teacher of the year and how satisfied that would make you.
- Observe other teachers as a learning tool.
- Marshal inner resources and remember you've been through more than this and made it.
- Analyse why you feel so anxious about aspects of your work and think through ways to overcome these feelings.
- Embellish your teaching – keep changing what you do – so it's more interesting for you to teach it again.
- Rearrange the classroom layout for maximal attention from students.
- Call teacher study groups to resolve problems cooperatively.

Based on Corno and Kanfer (1993: 312–13)

Thus, the unique benefits of doing an inherently fulfilling job that can satisfy one's higher-order psychological needs have increasingly been challenged by adverse conditions (both internal and external) that prevent teachers from fully experiencing the intrinsic rewards of their chosen occupation. A clear message emerging from the literature is the need to address these issues at the teacher preparation stage, in order to equip teachers better with the strategies to deal with the inevitable challenges they will face and to safeguard their own motivation (Alexander, 2008; Woolfolk Hoy, 2008).

Quote 7.6   Woolfolk Hoy on the tensions affecting teacher motivation

The call to serve is deep in many people who enter the teaching profession ... but the realities of teaching can be disheartening, especially for those whose motivations are altruistic. These tensions – between serving and surviving, between caring and control, between deep investment and protective distance – are seldom addressed in teacher preparation.

Woolfolk Hoy (2008: 497)

7.2   The motivation of L2 teachers

While the fields of educational psychology and teacher education may currently be experiencing a *Zeitgeist* of interest in teacher motivation (Watt and Richardson, 2008a), this does not seem to have filtered through yet to the L2 teaching and language teacher education context where the literature on teacher motivation remains scarce. An important early exception has been a series of studies conducted by Martha Pennington and her colleagues on teachers of English and a monograph she has written to summarise the findings and place them within a broader theoretical framework (Pennington, 1995). Since then, there has been a small body of research that has focused on issues of language teacher motivation but it is clear that this is a field that merits much more attention. We will first describe Pennington's findings, and then summarise the few key studies and analyses that have followed.

7.2.1   Pennington's analysis of the motivation of ESL teachers

Being fully aware of the paucity of relevant theoretical and field-specific information, Pennington (1995) set out to provide 'a first approximation, or initial model, of the ESL work environment that will be elaborated and refined by others in the future' (p. 7). Her specific focus was the work satisfaction and motivation of teachers of English as a Second Language, but she also provides a more general review of research on work and teacher satisfaction/motivation.

Pennington (1995) gives a detailed summary of the empirical work she conducted with various colleagues on the topic in different parts of the world. In 1991, Pennington and Riley sent a standardised work satisfaction questionnaire (the Minnesota Satisfaction Questionnaire) to 100 randomly selected members of the US-based organisation Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL), which is the world's largest international association of L2 teachers. The questionnaire measured satisfaction with 20 different work facets (five items each) and the ESL practitioners' responses showed considerable interscale variation. The two highest rated facets were *Moral Values* and *Social Services*, which is in accordance with the theoretical arguments about the intrinsic, ideologically loaded character of teacher motivation. These two facets were followed by *Creativity*, *Achievement* and *Ability Utilisation*, which are also related to intrinsic job satisfaction. The two lowest rated facets were *Advancement* and *Compensation*, which

is again consistent with earlier arguments, followed by two *Supervision* scales and one of *Company Policies and Procedures*, indicating that the respondents did not find their institutions generally supportive.

In 1991, Pennington and Riley also conducted a second, similar study but this time sending out another well-known work satisfaction questionnaire, the Job Descriptive Index, which focuses on five job facets (pay, promotion, co-workers, supervision and the nature of the work) and contains an additional general job satisfaction scale. Although the division of the work facets examined was different in the two instruments, the results of this second study were consistent with those of the first: the highest ratings occurred in the categories of *Co-workers* and *Work*, with the lowest in *Promotion* and *Pay*. Pennington also conducted research among Chinese bilingual high school English teachers in Hong Kong, and the findings again confirmed the general trends outlined earlier. As she concluded, these teachers had reduced commitment due, among other things, to high stress, low autonomy, poor resources and minimal work incentives such as promotions.

Quote 7.7   Pennington on the work satisfaction of ESL teachers

ESL practitioners are motivated in a positive direction in their jobs and careers by intrinsic work process and human relations factors. These positive motivators guarantee that the level of overall satisfaction will be sufficiently high within ESL so as to sustain a core of experienced educators in teaching and related practices and to continue to attract a steady stream of enthusiastic newcomers to fill the increasing need for ESL practitioners around the globe. . . . At the same time, the global picture is one of considerable dissatisfaction with long-term career opportunities within the field, with the compensation and recognition received for the work performed, and with administrative and supervisory policies and practices that limit professional responsibility and growth.

Pennington (1995: 139–40)

7.2.2   Doyle and Kim's investigation

The work of Terry Doyle and Young Mi Kim (1999) differs from the line of research reported by Pennington (1995) in that it takes a less positivist approach. Although the authors also use questionnaire data, they complement these with extensive qualitative interviews with teachers, and also draw heavily on critical language pedagogy as a basic

theoretical orientation (e.g. Crookes, 1997; Pennycook, 1989). By doing so, their objective is to attempt to achieve a critical analysis of the 'social, cultural and political reasons which diminish teacher motivation and cause dissatisfaction and low morale' (Kim and Doyle, 1998) by means of analysing data from Korean (nine interviews, 99 questionnaires) and American teachers of English (five interviews, 100 questionnaires).

Doyle and Kim (1999) discuss their results by focusing on three main themes:

1. *Intrinsic motivation*. The authors report a general consensus among the participating teachers that the main motivating factor for them is the intrinsic interest in teaching and helping students; as one American teacher explicitly stated, if 'it's not fun for you, you really should get out of it because it's not financially rewarding'. Another teacher emphasised the importance of being in charge of one's own class: 'What increases my motivation, and what is certainly one of your questions, is the fact that, a one thousand per cent plus of the job is that it's your class. It really is your class, right? I feel like this is my class.'

2. *Factors leading to dissatisfaction*. The high intrinsic commitment of language teachers is (as one teacher explicitly stated) known and taken advantage of by school administrators. Similarly to English teachers in many other contexts (cf. Crookes, 1997; Johnston, 1997), Doyle and Kim's data reveal that the adverse external factors associated with the job have an eroding effect on some of the teachers; for example, 43 per cent of the American sample agreed that their salary affects their motivation in the classroom and 34 per cent stated the same thing about their advancement opportunities. Further dissatisfaction is caused by the lack of respect from the school administration and even department heads; the unfavourable employment conditions; the lack of advancement opportunities; and the perceived gradual devaluation of the teacher's role.

3. *Mandated curricula and tests*. Kim and Doyle (1998) report three sources of curriculum-related pressures observed in their study, all impeding teachers' autonomy. The first is the obligation to teach a *set curriculum* ('I teach students, not a curriculum'), a point which is often mentioned with regard to other subject areas as well in the educational psychological literature. In Korea, this pressure was also augmented by the limited choice of textbooks prescribed by the national textbook committee and by the fact that the prescribed

methodology was imposed by western experts abroad. The second type of pressure is to use *standardised tests*, which – apart from the fact that they are restricting – were also regarded by some teachers as 'condescending' (e.g. in the sense that they highlighted low-level service jobs, a criticism that was also mentioned about the curriculum in general) and sometimes 'culturally insensitive'. The third source of pressure is the interference from *government-mandated directives*; for example, mandatory attendance at 'politically correct workshops' was seen to lead to dissatisfaction.

It is noteworthy that although Doyle and Kim's (1999) sample consisted of two sets of teachers of very different types – western instructors in a second language acquisition context and East Asian instructors in a foreign language learning context – the results showed more commonalities than differences.

7.2.3   Shoaib's study of teacher motivation

Amel Shoaib (2004) has set out to map the teacher motivation terrain based on a large-scale interview study conducted in Saudi Arabia. She argues that teacher motivation is a complex phenomenon that does not work on one level alone; accordingly, she distinguishes three main levels where motivational change can be made: *the teacher level*, *the managerial level* and *the ministerial/institutional level*. Concept 7.3 illustrates the three levels with the three most important strategies she identified to bring about positive changes in the particular area.

Concept 7.3   **Shoaib's (2004) summary of the most important strategies to motivate language teachers**

Teacher level

Applying self-regulatory strategies (see Example 7.1)

Attending formal/professional activities

Aiming for a further degree

Managerial level

Developing a system for collaboration and team work between language teachers

Providing appropriate specialised in-service training for language teachers

Recognising and appreciating language teachers' efforts and hard work

Ministerial/institutional level

Allocating more funds to the educational system

Restricting the regulative nature of the system

Allowing the participation of teachers in curriculum design

More specifically, Shoaib compiled an elaborate list of concrete recommendations concerning the enhancement of teacher motivation, the most important of which are as follows:

1. Ministerial and institutional leadership
   - Educational authorities should be more flexible and less controlling with initiatives, rules and regulations, and should allow teachers more autonomy with their work (e.g. less prescriptive with testing and marking systems); the common practice of bombarding teachers with government initiatives should be abandoned.
   - Class sizes and teaching loads should be decreased so that teachers can have more time for lesson planning and marking student assignments.
   - Teachers should be allowed to participate in decision-making matters and their views should be taken seriously when implementing change.

2. Pre-service training
   - Pre-service language teacher training should be at least one year long, with the theoretical part being followed by extensive practical experience in real classroom environments.
   - Pre-service training should offer trainees the skills to deal with the common problems that school teachers are known to be facing (e.g. teaching large or mixed ability classes, handling demotivated or undisciplined students).
   - There should be closer collaboration between the educational authorities and teacher training colleges in order to avoid confusing, contradictory or mixed messages and requirements.

3. In-service training and professional progress
   - Teachers at all levels should be offered opportunities to receive in-service training in a variety of forms (e.g. conferences, workshops and short courses) or to do further educational degrees.
   - Fitting in-service training around already heavy teacher workloads should be a priority and some paid leave should be provided for the duration of the training.

- Rewards for attending in-service training should be offered (e.g. salary raise or some diploma/certificate), and the schools' career structure should include some kind of a 'title' system in order to give teachers specific goals to look forward to and to sustain their motivation.

4. Supervision
   - There should be a system of supervision by experienced educators specialised in mentoring language teachers and helping them improve the quality of their instruction.
   - Supervision should not be controlling or overpowering, but rather supportive, non-blaming and respectful; modelling best practice and monitoring actual practice should be in harmony.
   - Supervisors should be given the power to monitor and reward teachers in a sensible and fair way (e.g. monetary rewards or certificates) based on merit.

5. Management
   - School managers should encourage collaboration and team work amongst staff; for example, teachers should be encouraged to observe each other's classes and provide feedback; newly appointed teachers should be given peer support by motivated and experienced teachers.
   - Teachers should be allowed to participate in decision-making matters that relate to their work and that are within the authority of the school management (e.g. timetabling).
   - A survey focusing on teacher motivation and needs should be conducted before the start of the school year, and the main issues raised should be properly followed upon.

6. Workload and curriculum
   - The amount of administration that teachers are required to do should be reduced.
   - Teachers should not be forced to do non-curriculum-related work that they are not specialised in; extra-curricular work should be optional with a reward system set up for those who choose to do it.
   - Time to prepare for classes should be part of the teachers' official workload.
   - The amount of compulsory teaching input should be reduced so that teachers can have more time to teach the language properly instead of rushing through the units.

7. Facilities, resources and salaries
- Discretionary resources for class use (e.g. posters, flash cards) should be made easily available for any teacher who may need them.
- The overall infrastructure of state schools and higher educational facilities should be improved.
- Teachers tackling important educational tasks and challenges (e.g. doing a higher educational degree, attending teaching courses) should be financially rewarded.
- There should be a flexible pay system involving institution-based performance incentives that reward individual teachers for excellence.

7.2.4   Kubanyiova's study of teacher motivation and teacher development

In Section 7.1.3, we noted Alexander's (2008) observation that the literature on teacher motivation lacks a clear developmental model that theorises how motives, cognitions, socio-contextual factors and day-to-day practices interact as teachers progress in their professional development, and how teachers' motivational constructs change as their skills and experience evolve. Within the L2 field, one very promising line of enquiry has recently been initiated by Kubanyiova (2009, in press), who has attempted to articulate the connections among teacher cognition, teacher motivation and teacher development, with a particular focus on exploring conceptual change in language teachers. Drawing on current perspectives on possible selves (Markus and Nurius, 1986) and self-discrepancy theory (Higgins, 1987, 1998) now influencing L2 motivation theory (4.2), Kubanyiova applied the notion of future possible selves to the analysis of teacher motivation. Based on Dörnyei's (2005, 2009a) L2 Motivational Self System, she developed the concepts of an *Ideal Language Teacher Self* (i.e. the personal identity goals and aspirations of language teachers), and an *Ought-to Language Teacher Self* (i.e. language teachers' cognitive representations of their professional responsibilities and obligations, which may be shaped by contextual and normative pressures and expectations). In addition, she posited the concept of a *Feared Language Teacher Self* – that is, what teachers fear they might become if they do not live up to their own ideals or perceived responsibilities and obligations.

Kubanyiova (2009) reports on a longitudinal analysis of eight Slovakian teachers of English who undertook an in-service course

introducing them to motivation-sensitive and autonomy-enhancing teaching approaches (for an overview of the study, see Study 9.13 in Chapter 9). Her findings suggest that the extent to which teachers actively engage with the training input and develop their own practice may depend on (a) how far this input and its pedagogical principles are consistent with their own intrinsic aspirations or Ideal Language Teacher Selves; (b) how far they recognise a dissonance between their current and desired end-states; and (c) how much they are motivated to reduce this gap. Teachers who experience such dissonance between their current and ideal selves and who espouse the pedagogical principles of the training input are more likely to employ self-regulatory strategies to minimise the impact of contextual constraints on their development. With some teachers on the other hand, their working self-concept may be dominated by context-related Ought-to Language Teacher Selves or Feared Language Teacher Selves; these are likely to inhibit engagement with a new approach to teaching (e.g. giving students more autonomy) if they do not conform with local expectations (e.g. students may believe that the teacher is not serious or competent enough if she gives them too much autonomy), or when contextual pressures and constraints are perceived as too great (see also Chick (2001) for an interesting analysis of collusive disengagement by teachers *and* students through 'safe-talk' practices in the context of apartheid education in South Africa).

A particular strength of Kubanyiova's analysis is that it unravels individual complexities in how a teacher's motivation may be affected by contextual conditions and demands (which, as we have seen throughout this chapter, are pervasive and potentially detrimental to teacher motivation). In essence, it seems that the impact of contextual factors will depend very much on the particular configuration of possible selves constituting the teacher's working self-concept.

Quote 7.8 Kubanyiova on teacher development and possible selves

The data of this research project indicate that the fear of not meeting students' expectations becomes a clear factor inhibiting change when it is associated with an imminent threat to the teachers' identity goals, irrespective of whether or not the students' real expectations are at play. Similarly, the extent to which a variety of contextual demands, such as

> heavy workload or the unsupportive school culture, produce detrimental dissonance depends on the teachers' internal appraisal of these conditions. These are, in turn, determined by those possible selves that are most central in their working self-concept. Therefore, in order to understand the detrimental impact of sociocultural contexts on teacher development, we need to examine the degree to which the teachers had adopted contextually-primed ought-to selves as their self-guides.
>
> Kubanyiova (2009: 327–8)

7.2.5   The motivation of L2 teachers – further issues

In Section 6.4 we highlighted a number of factors in the broader sociocultural context which may have a negative impact on language learning motivation – in particular, the various critical discourses surrounding the global spread of English and its dominant status in relation to other languages. We should add here that such discourses may also have an impact on the motivation of language teachers. Within the broad field of English language teaching (ELT), there is growing critical discussion about the comparative roles, statuses and professional identities of native-speaker (NS) versus non-native speaker (NNS) teachers of English, with much debate focusing on how NNS teachers may feel positioned negatively within the profession (e.g. Holliday, 2005; for a recent review of the literature, see Moussu and Llurda, 2008). Clearly, the themes pervading this debate such as disempowerment, discrimination, impostor syndrome (e.g. Bernat, 2008) connect very deeply with issues of teacher motivation, and it seems likely that this is an area ripe for research investigation within the language teacher motivation field.

At the same time, it should be noted that where the negative effects of Global English discourses on teacher motivation are concerned, native-speaker teachers may also feel vulnerable, given the growing debates around promoting international varieties of English such as ELF (English as a Lingua Franca) instead of standard 'native-speaker' varieties such as British or American English (e.g. Jenkins, 2007; Seidlhofer, 2004; Seidlhofer et al., 2006). Such academic debates may be perceived as a threat to the traditional power base and status of native-speaker English teachers, and have a significant impact on their motivation (Aboshiha, 2008).

7.3 The relationship between teacher motivation and student motivation

Although the analysis of 'motivation to teach' is an intriguing and largely uncharted domain, it is only relevant to this book inasmuch as teacher motivation affects the motivational disposition of the learners. Surprisingly perhaps, the amount of research that has explicitly examined this relationship is still rather meagre. Nevertheless, there is a small but growing body of evidence and associated theorising available to confirm that teacher motivation has a direct impact on student motivation and achievement. In this final section of the chapter, we will review this small but important literature base.

7.3.1 Teacher expectations and student achievement: the 'Pygmalion effect'

One component of the 'motivation to teach' complex involves the teacher's expectation about the students' learning potential, a factor that can be considered closely related to the more general 'expectancy of (teaching) success' component discussed earlier (Section 2.1.1). This teacher expectation factor has been shown to affect the students' rate of progress, functioning to some extent as a *self-fulfilling prophecy* (also referred to as the 'Pygmalion effect' after Bernard Shaw's play), with students living up or 'down' to their teachers' expectations.

Concept 7.4   **Rosenthal and Jacobson's experiment to document the 'Pygmalion effect'**

In a famous experiment, Rosenthal and Jacobson (1968) administered an intelligence test to primary school children at the start of the academic year. Teachers were told that the purpose of this test was to predict which students would 'bloom' intellectually during the academic year. The researchers, however, deceived the teachers because instead of providing them with the true test scores, they identified 20 per cent of the sample as potential 'intellectual bloomers' randomly, that is, regardless of their actual intellectual potential. The results of the experiment were quite remarkable: by the end of the year there were significant differences between the 'bloomers' and the control students whereas at the beginning of the year they were similar in every respect except in the way

> they were labelled by the researchers. Rosenthal and Jacobson explained the emerging difference by arguing that the (false) information about the students created differential teacher expectations concerning them and these expectations acted as self-fulfilling prophecies in that students lived up to them.

There have been several models postulated in educational psychology to explain the self-fulfilling process (for reviews, see Brophy, 1985; Good, 1994; Jussim and Harber, 2005). There is a consensus in that initial teacher expectations trigger off various events and teacher behaviours which, in turn, influence student performance in a corresponding fashion. These mediating influences can be

- *direct* (e.g. extra learning opportunities or increased challenges), or
- *indirect* (e.g. improved rapport and more detailed performance feedback which, in turn, change student attitudes and motivation).

If they are consistent over time, these influences are likely to affect the student's self-concept, level of aspiration, achievement strivings, classroom conduct and interaction with the teacher. The cumulative effect of these changes will, then, be a change in the student's achievement.

Although Rosenthal and Jacobson's (1968) original study (see Concept 7.4) only looked into positive expectations, the Pygmalion effect can also involve negative expectations (i.e. teachers expect less than what the student is capable of) and in these cases the false evaluation of/beliefs about the students can become harmful. Brophy (1985: 180) lists eight concrete ways by which negative expectancy-driven teacher behaviour can reduce student motivation:

1. Giving up easily on low-expectation students (e.g. not waiting long enough for their answers).

2. Criticising them more often for failure.

3. Praising them less often following success.

4. Praising inappropriately (e.g. after routine responses).

5. Neglecting to give them any feedback following their responses.

6. Seating them in the back of the room.

7. Generally paying less attention to them or interacting with them less frequently.

8. Expressing less warmth towards them or less interest in them as individuals.

In the light of the Pygmalion effect, teachers need to be very careful about the psychological acceptance and evaluation of their students: non-subject-matter-related biases and stereotypes can easily be transformed into disadvantageous learning conditions along the above lines, even without teachers being conscious of the fact that they are transmitting expectation-mediated discrimination.

The self-fulfilling prophecy phenomenon exists not only at the individual level but also at the group level. Pintrich and Schunk (2002) reported on an experiment by Schrank (1968), in which teachers were told (again without any basis of truth) that their classes were made up of students of particularly high or low learning potential. Similarly, as in the Rosenthal and Jacobson study, students in the high-potential condition were found to learn more than their peers in the low-potential group. This link between teacher beliefs and student behaviour is particularly noteworthy in view of the fact that ability grouping has become a standard practice in contemporary education. Schrank's results indicate that students assigned to low-ability groups are at a multiple disadvantage, as their and their peers' (allegedly) limited capabilities are accompanied by the teacher's reduced commitment to their learning. This may send the children on an ever downward spiral of low achievement and low expectations.

7.3.2   Teacher enthusiasm – learner enthusiasm

In a thought-provoking article, Csikszentmihalyi (1997) points out that the most influential teachers – those who are remembered and who make a real difference in their students' development – are not the ones who have most status and power, and they may not even be the most intelligent or knowledgeable instructors a student has. Instead, they are usually the ones who love what they are doing, who show by their dedication and their passion that there is nothing else on earth they would rather be doing. They are the 'nutcases' whose involvement in the subject matter is so excessive that it is bordering on being crazy. 'Yet', the author goes on, 'it is such fools who keep the fabric of knowledge from unravelling between one generation to the next. If it weren't for them, who would believe that knowledge really mattered?' (p. 78).

Quote 7.9   Csikszentmihalyi on the effects of teacher motivation

Young people are more intelligent than adults generally give them credit for. They can usually discern, for instance, whether an adult they know likes or dislikes what he or she is doing. If a teacher does not believe in his job, does not enjoy the learning he is trying to transmit, the student will sense this and derive the entirely rational conclusion that the particular subject matter is not worth mastering for its own sake. If all the teachers they are exposed to are extrinsically motivated, students might well conclude that learning in general is worthless in and of itself.

Such a reaction on the part of young people is eminently adaptive. Why should they want to spend their lives being bored? Why should they emulate a model who is already alienated from his or her life activity? The young are in general less resigned than adults to the prospect of a meaningless life. They look around them for adults who seem to enjoy their jobs, who believe in what they are doing, and take them as models.

Csikszentmihalyi (1997: 77)

The point Csikszentmihalyi (1997) makes touches upon the core of the teacher–student relationship. Effective teachers are not necessarily the ones who are successful in the business of transferring cognitive information. Instead, the positive impact of good teachers is to a large extent due to the strength of their commitment towards the subject matter which becomes 'infectious', that is, instils in students a similar willingness to pursue knowledge. As Csikszentmihalyi summarises: 'The best way to get students to believe that it makes sense to pursue knowledge is to believe in it oneself' (p. 72). More recently, Day (2004) has underlined the importance of what he calls *passion for teaching*, which is underpinned by the firm belief that one can make a positive difference to the lives and learning of one's students (see Quote 7.10).

Quote 7.10   Day on the role of passion for teaching

Teachers with a passion for teaching are those who are committed, enthusiastic, and intellectually and emotionally energetic in their work with children, young people and adults alike. Yet these overt signs of passion are underpinned by clear moral purposes that go beyond the efficient implementation of set curricula. Passionate teachers are aware of the challenge of the broader social contexts in which they teach, have a clear

sense of identity and believe that they can make a difference to the learn-ing and achievement of their pupils … For these teachers, teaching is a creative and adventurous profession and passion is not an option. It is essential to high-quality teaching.

Day (2004: 2)

The general assumption that students who perceive their teachers as passionate and enthusiastic will feel more intrinsically motivated has also been supported by some empirical research. In an interesting study, Wild et al. (1992) have shown that if a teacher is perceived as more intrinsically motivated (i.e. having a genuine commitment), this enhances the students' enjoyment of the lesson and interest in the instructional material (see Concept 7.5). In another study Patrick et al. (2000) first used a questionnaire to assess the predictor capacity of 13 teacher behaviours on students' intrinsic motivation and vitality, and found enthusiasm to be the strongest predictor. Then the researchers assigned 60 students randomly to two classes, one with an enthusiastic and the other with an unenthusiastic teacher, who were asked to carry out several activities. Results showed that students not only enjoyed the enthusiastic condition more, but their intrinsic motivation also con-tinued in follow-up tasks where the teacher was not present. Thus, the authors concluded, 'enthusiasm does not merely provide a momentary "high" that immediately dissipates' (p. 232).

Concept 7.5   Wild, Enzle and Hawkins' study of the impact of intrinsic commitment

In Wild et al.'s (1992) study a group of students was taught a piano lesson. Some participating students were led to believe that the teacher conducting a special lesson had been paid $25 to do so (and thus was extrinsically motivated), whereas others were led to believe that the same teacher had volunteered to be of service (thereby displaying intrin-sic commitment). Although all the students participated in exactly the same lesson, the perceptions of the class and the teacher were markedly different in the two groups. Those who thought that the teacher was intrinsically motivated reported perceiving the teacher as exhibiting greater enthusiasm, enjoyed the lesson more and said that they were more interested in further learning than the ones who thought that the teacher was 'merely' a paid worker.

More recently, empirical evidence that teacher enthusiasm and passion can foster adaptive student behaviours (as perceived by teachers) has been provided in a study of 494 teachers by Carbonneau et al. (2008). Adapting a self-report Passion Scale developed for work contexts by Vallerand and Houlfort (2003), the researchers assessed the extent to which respondents had a passion for teaching, and how far their passion was harmonious (e.g. 'My job as a teacher is in harmony with other activities in my life') or obsessive (e.g. 'I have almost an obsessive feeling for my job as a teacher'). Teachers' perceptions of their students' classroom behaviour patterns were also measured through self-report items (e.g. 'Students in my class are cooperative and enthusiastic'). The questionnaire was administered twice over a three-month period, with relationships measured between Time 1 and Time 2. The results showed that 93 per cent of teachers in the sample met the criteria for at least a moderate level of passion towards teaching, thus lending empirical support to the notion that the majority of teachers are passionate about their job (e.g. Day, 2004). In addition, the data showed evidence that all forms of teacher passion (whether harmonious or obsessive) foster adaptive student behaviours, at least as perceived by the teachers themselves.

Quote 7.11   Patrick, Hisley and Kempler on reigniting the flame of motivation in college students

[The] phenomenon of *dormant energy* may be particularly prevalent in college students, many of whom, as veritable veterans of an educational system built around external incentives and rewards, may have forgotten or lost faith in their own intrinsic motivation to learn. Enthusiasm may act somehow as a spark to reignite the flame of curiosity and interest for students, giving their intrinsic motivation a jump start, if you will.

Patrick et al. (2000: 219)

7.3.3   The interactive relationship between teacher and student motivation

While the temporal dimension of Carbonneau et al.'s (2008) analysis suggests that teacher enthusiasm and passion function more as antecedents rather than consequences of student motivation and adaptive behaviours, our earlier discussions about complex socio-dynamic perspectives on motivation (Chapter 4) should alert us to the bi-directional

nature of the relationship between teacher and student motivation (e.g. Martin, 2006), and to its complex interactions with contextual processes. Needless to say, however, this complexity perspective on teacher motivation has not yet been the subject of much empirical investigation and clearly merits research attention.

One angle of enquiry that may prove fruitful is the interactive analysis of autonomous or self-determined forms of motivation in teaching and learning, and their associations with classroom practices and contextual factors. For example, a study by Roth et al. (2007) of 132 Israeli teachers and their 1,255 students confirms relationships between teachers' self-reported autonomous motivation for teaching, their autonomy-supportive classroom practices, and students' self-reported autonomous motivation for learning, suggesting that self-determined teaching may promote self-determined learning. On the other hand, in a study cited earlier (in Section 7.1.4), Pelletier et al. (2002) report that the relationship between teacher and student motivation may also go the other way, in that the less self-determined students seem in their engagement in learning, the less self-determined teachers feel towards teaching. This pressure from 'below' (i.e. from their non-autonomous students), coupled with pressure from 'above' (i.e. contextual and institutional demands constraining their professional autonomy) may combine to impact negatively on teachers' motivation and lead them to adopt more controlling rather than autonomy-supportive practices in the classroom, further perpetuating the negative cycle of student and teacher motivation. As Pelletier et al. (2002) note, teachers need to understand the complex sequence of events that lead them to adopt an autonomy-supportive or controlling style with their students.

In sum, in past research teacher motivation has been seen either as an antecedent or (less frequently) as an outcome of student motivation. The reality, however, is that this is not an either/or situation because teacher motivation functions in both roles simultaneously in an ongoing manner. Thus, similar to other motivational phenomena described earlier in this book (see Chapter 4), this reciprocal and recursive pattern of causality may be best captured within a complex dynamic systems framework. In this perspective, we cannot talk about any antecedents or consequences within distinct cause-effect relationships but rather about emerging outcomes of interactions among constituent systems underlying the teachers' and students' motivational disposition.

||| Researching motivation

Making motivation a researchable concept

This chapter will...

- describe the main features of motivation research, including its inherent difficulties;
- discuss the main methodological decisions one has to take before launching into a research project.

Having looked into the nature of L2 motivation in the previous chapters and having analysed its educational relevance, in Section 3 we will turn our attention to a third aspect of the issue of motivation, its *researchability*. L2 motivation research is aimed at understanding the operation of motivational factors/processes in the learning of second languages as well as exploring ways to optimise student motivation. These objectives are clearly relevant to many professionals working in the L2 field and, hopefully, the following discussion on conducting inquiries into motivational matters will not be restricted to established researchers but will also be useful for language teachers and graduate students who are planning to conduct their own investigations.

Research is nothing but trying to *find answers* to questions – an activity everybody does regularly, both in their personal and professional life. What distinguishes scientific research from the everyday activity of exploring the world around us is that in scientific research we place a special emphasis on being *systematic* and reducing the effects of personal subjectivity and other influencing factors to a minimum. That is,

'research' in the scientific sense is *finding systematic answers to questions*; or, in other words, research is *disciplined enquiry*. In the most general sense, there are two ways of finding answers to research questions (cf. Dörnyei, 2007b):

1. By looking at what other people have said about the particular issue. This is usually called *secondary* or *conceptual research* and is an essential form of enquiry because it would be a complete waste of time and energy to 'reinvent the wheel' again and again.

2. By conducting one's own investigation, which involves collecting some sort of information (or 'data') and drawing some conclusions. This is called *primary research* and is important for two main reasons:
   • No two learning situations are exactly the same and therefore the guidelines offered by external sources rarely provide the exact answers to one's specific questions.
   • It is an exciting and illuminating process to find one's own answers, and being engaged in this process can be one of the most effective forms of professional development. In addition, other people may also benefit from one's research endeavours.

Quote 8.1   Wallace on professional development and action research

It is assumed that most language teachers wish to develop themselves professionally on a continuous basis. They have access to a wide variety of methods of doing this. One method is by reflecting on interesting and/or problematic areas in a structured way … through the systematic collection and analysis of data. This is what I have called 'action research'.

Wallace (1998: 18)

The two chapters in this section will focus on the second type of investigation only, that is, on primary, data-based research. Our aim is not to compile a 'mini research manual', because a variety of good research methods texts are already available in our field (see the *Further Reading* section below). Instead, we will highlight the unique characteristics and challenges that are specific to the empirical study of language learning motivation.

Further reading

Research methodology

Since the publication of the first edition of *Teaching and Researching Motivation*, several useful research methods texts have come out within the field of applied linguistics. Zoltán has written two relevant books, one on research methodology in general (Dörnyei, 2007b), the other on how to design, administer and process questionnaires, with specific illustrations taken from motivation research (Dörnyei, 2010a). Other recent publications that we have found useful include Bachman (2004), Mackey and Gass (2005), McKay (2006) and Richards (2003). In addition, because so much in research methodology is sufficiently generic to be transferable, we can also find relevant information in research methodology texts written for social scientists in general and for psychological and educational researchers in particular. There is no shortage of such manuals, and all the publications listed above will refer to authoritative texts in this genre.

8.1   Inherent problems in motivation research

Doing motivation research can be a most rewarding but at the same time formidable task. There are three features of 'motivation' in particular that pose a challenge to the researcher:

1. *Motivation is abstract and not directly observable*. 'Motivation' is an abstract term that refers to various mental (i.e. internal) processes and states. It is therefore *not* subject to direct observation but must be inferred from some indirect indicator, such as the individual's *self-report accounts*, *overt behaviours* or *physiological responses* (e.g. change of blood pressure). This means that there are *no* objective measures of motivation; all the motivation indices used in research studies are inherently subjective, and one of the most difficult tasks of the motivation researcher is to keep this level of subjectivity to a minimum.

2. *Motivation is a multidimensional construct*. Motivation is a multi-faceted concept that cannot be represented by means of simple measures (e.g. the results of a few questionnaire items). Researchers need to bear this in mind when conceptualising and assessing

motivation variables, and they should also be aware of the fact that the specific motivation measure or concept they are focusing on is likely to represent only a segment of a more intricate psychological construct.

3. *Motivation is inconstant and dynamic.* Motivation is not stable but changes dynamically over time as a result of personal progress as well as multi-level interactions with environmental factors and other individual difference variables. It is therefore questionable how accurately a one-off examination (e.g. the administration of a questionnaire at a single point of time) can represent the motivational basis of a prolonged behavioural sequence such as L2 learning.

Although the unobservable, multifaceted and dynamically changing nature of motivation makes its study admittedly complicated, there is a variety of research methodological tools at our disposal to help us with our enquiries and to avoid the pitfalls. If we make informed decisions about which aspect of motivation to focus on and which methods to use when collecting and analysing our data, motivation research can produce meaningful and valid results even for the novice researcher. Let us look at some broad, far-reaching choices that motivation researchers need to make at a relatively early stage in their projects.

8.2   Deciding on the particular aspect of motivation to focus on

Because of the broad spectrum of the various components of motivation, the starting point in any research in this area is the clarification of how 'L2 motivation' will be conceptualised in the particular study, that is, which aspects of L2 motivation will be specifically targeted. Although this may sound obvious, the failure to consider this issue explicitly has resulted in a great deal of disappointing results and frustration in past research. For example, L2 motivation studies have traditionally targeted the more general and stable aspects of motivation, such as language attitudes, beliefs and values. These aspects, according to Dörnyei and Ottó's (1998) process-oriented conceptualisation (Section 3.3.3), are primarily associated with the *preactional stage* of the motivated behavioural process and are, therefore, particularly useful in predicting issues such as *language choice* or the initial intention to *enrol in a language course*. They are less adequate for predicting actual L2

learning behaviours demonstrated in the classroom (e.g. rate of atten-
dance, level of attention paid, degree of task engagement) because
learner behaviours during the *actional stage* tend to be energised by
a second set of motivational influences: *executive motives*. These are
largely rooted in the situation-specific characteristics of the learn-
ing context and, following Heckhausen's (1991; Heckhausen and
Heckhausen, 2008) argument, they may show few overlaps with motives
fuelling the preactional stage (cf. Concept 3.6 on crossing the
'Rubicon' of action in Section 3.3.3). Thus, studies that attempt to
relate language attitudes and other general motivational aspects to
classroom-specific criterion measures, such as student performance, are
likely to produce depressed results.

The above example illustrates the importance of selecting the appro-
priate aspect of motivation to target and it also highlights the key issue
in trying to achieve this: the need to define the *behavioural domain* that
one is interested in (for practical steps, see Concept 8.1). Motivation –
by definition – is related to action (see Concept 8.2) and therefore
motivational relevance can only be specified in the light of the target
behavioural domain.

Concept 8.1   **Steps in choosing the relevant motivational aspects
to target**

1. *Define the target behavioural domain* (i.e. the actual aspect of L2 learn-
ing in which you are interested) as narrowly as possible. Broad
domains such as 'L2 learning' involve so many diverse behaviours
(e.g. participating actively in the language class, paying attention to
lectures/explanations, writing up home assignments or memorising
new vocabulary) that their usefulness for research purposes is very
limited (cf. also the discussion on how to select the criterion variable
in Section 8.3 below).

2. *List the various motivational influences* that are likely to affect the
behaviours in question. The taxonomies in Figures 3.1–3.2 as well as
Tables 3.1 and 3.2 can serve as checklists for selecting the potential
motives.

3. *Set up priorities among the relevant motivational influences*: Because it
is unlikely that any single project can cover all the relevant factors,
narrowing down the motivational focus is justifiable as long as the
process is explicitly described and explained (rather than merely stat-
ing in the report that *'motivation was measured by means of . . .'*).

8.3 Selecting the criterion/dependent variable

A large proportion of L2 motivational studies have looked at the relationship between motivation and learning achievement, using some measure of performance/accomplishment (e.g. grades or test scores) as the *criterion* or *dependent variable*. The interest in this connection is justifiable, since – following the spirit of the saying, 'The proof of the pudding is in the eating' – the ultimate goal of a great deal of research in applied linguistics is to explain the observed variation in L2 learning success. However, motivation-achievement relationships should be treated with caution because we cannot assume a direct link there (see Concept 8.2) and the absence of some expected results can simply be due to the wrong criterion measure selected for the study. If we want to draw more meaningful inferences about the impact of various motives, it is more appropriate to use some sort of a *behavioural measure* as the criterion/dependent variable (cf. e.g. Guilloteaux and Dörnyei, 2008, and the subsequent discussion by R. Ellis, 2009, and Guilloteaux and Dörnyei, 2009, as well as the sample investigation in Study 9.3). Examples of potential criterion variables of this sort include:

- language choice,
- course attendance,
- enrolment in the next course,
- volunteering answers,
- extent of task engagement,
- direct measures of motivated L2 behaviour (such as the number of words used in a task, or the quality and quantity of home assignments),
- extracurricular language use.

That, is, there is a great range of manifestations of motivation that can be used as criterion variables in a motivation study instead of the global and less direct measures of course achievement or language proficiency.

Concept 8.2 **On the relationship between motivation and achievement**

From a theoretical point of view, the relationship between motivation and achievement is not straightforward. Motivation – by definition – is

the antecedent of *action* rather than achievement. It is true that motivated learners will demonstrate more effort and persistence in their task behaviour, which in turn can lead to increased achievement, but this relationship is *indirect*, because achievement is also influenced by a host of other factors, most notably by

- the learners' ability,
- learning opportunities,
- the instructional quality of the learning tasks.

As an extreme, we can imagine a situation when learners spend all their time performing a 'learning' task with great vigour, yet they will show no resulting development because the task in question was not adequate for the purpose of learning. In this case, to interpret the non-significant correlation between motivation and achievement as the indication of a lack of motivational impact would be incorrect.

8.4   Selecting the method of enquiry

There is no 'best' method for researching motivation; each type of research has advantages and disadvantages. Let us summarise here some general guidelines and considerations regarding the basic methodological selection, and in the next chapter we will provide an overview of the main types of L2 motivation research.

As stated earlier, the main purpose of primary research is to collect original information about a topic and to draw inferences from the obtained material. The original information obtained is usually referred to as 'data'. One way of looking at the main differences between distinct types of research methods/approaches is to differentiate the types of data gathered through them. At least three basic issues need to be addressed at this stage:

1. Do we want to collect *quantitative data* (e.g. by using tests and questionnaires) or *qualitative data* (e.g. drawing on interviews and learning journals) or a *mixture* of the two? This is not merely a technical question and neither does it depend entirely on the research topic because most topics can be examined meaningfully following both qualitative and quantitative approaches; important factors to consider are the researcher's past experience and training, his or her general orientation (e.g. world view) and inclination (e.g. aptitude

for dealing with numbers or people), as well as the planned audience of the study and the kind of participant sample and research support that is available (e.g. supervisors, resources) (for a detailed discussion, see ch. 14 in Dörnyei, 2007b).

2. Do we want to focus on *groups of learners*, examining the commonalities in their attributes as well as the similarities and differences between different learner groups, or do we want to examine the unique characteristics and developmental patterns of *individual learners*? This question is related to the previous one in that group-based analyses are usually quantitative in nature, whereas an in-depth look at individual cases typically falls under the qualitative research rubric, but in the light of the complex dynamic system perspective described in earlier chapters the main issue for us to decide is the following: is our research topic/question such that it is meaningful to aggregate findings from many participants, or would producing such a composite score lead to the loss of the subtle, individual trajectories that are at the heart of the phenomenon we are after?

3. Do we want to spend an extended period following the participants' development, thereby collecting *longitudinal data* (e.g. a case-study over a term) or do we want/need to restrict data collection to examining a *cross-section* of the participants' thoughts and emotional stances at a particular point in time (e.g. a survey study)? Making a decision regarding this issue involves practical considerations (e.g. resources and time available) in addition to those that are content-based.

8.4.1   Qualitative, quantitative or mixed methods research

Due to the different nature of qualitative and quantitative data (see Concept 8.3), different methods have been developed in the past to collect and analyse the two types, leading to the differentiation between two broad research paradigms, 'qualitative research' and 'quantitative research'. Although the qualitative–quantitative distinction does separate two research approaches, these are not necessarily mutually exclusive, and we can think of their principled combination as a third research approach: 'mixed methods research'. This is a new and vigorously growing branch of research methodology, involving the combined use of qualitative and quantitative methods with the hope of

offering the best of both worlds (see, e.g. Creswell and Plano Clark, 2007; Dörnyei, 2007b; Teddlie and Tashakkori, 2009, for further details). Here is a useful working definition for the three approaches:

1. *Quantitative research* involves data collection procedures that result primarily in numerical data which are then analysed primarily by statistical methods. Typical example: survey research using a questionnaire, analysed by statistical software such as SPSS.
2. *Qualitative research* involves data collection procedures that result primarily in open-ended, non-numerical data which are then analysed primarily by non-statistical methods. Typical example: interview research, with the transcribed recordings analysed by qualitative content analysis.
3. *Mixed methods research* involves different combinations of qualitative and quantitative research either at the data collection or at the analysis levels. Typical example: consecutive and interrelated questionnaire and interview studies.

Let us have a look at the main strengths and weaknesses of these three methodologies.

Concept 8.3 **Two main types of primary data in L2 motivation research**

Broadly speaking, in L2 motivation research we can find two main types of primary data:

1. *Quantitative data*, which are most commonly expressed in numbers (e.g. the score of a language aptitude test or the number of times a student volunteers in class).
2. *Qualitative data*, which usually involve recorded spoken data (e.g. interview data) that are transcribed to textual form as well as written (field) notes and documents of various sorts.

Strengths and weaknesses of quantitative research

Proponents of quantitative research usually emphasise that at its best a quantitative enquiry is systematic, rigorous, focused and tightly controlled, involving precise measurement and producing reliable and replicable data that are generalisable to other contexts. The statistical

analytical apparatus used to process quantitative results is refined and far-reaching and it also offers some in-built quality checks and indices (such as statistical significance) that help readers to decide on the validity of the findings. From a practical perspective, the research process is relatively quick and offers good value for money, particularly because the data analysis can be done using statistical computer software.

The downside of quantitative methods is that they average out responses across the whole observed group of participants, and by working with concepts of averages it is impossible to do justice to the subjective variety of an individual life. Similar scores can result from quite different underlying processes, and quantitative methods are generally not very sensitive in uncovering the reasons for particular observations or the dynamics underlying the examined situation or phenomenon. That is, the general exploratory capacity of quantitative research is rather limited. In addition to this, the results obtained by quantitative research are to a large extent dependent on the nature of the instruments used – as even an important potential finding cannot emerge if the instrument applied does not contain sufficient relevant items – and the content selection of the typical questionnaires almost always reflects some subjective biases on the part of the researcher.

Strengths and weaknesses of qualitative research

Qualitative research has traditionally been seen as an effective way of exploring new, uncharted areas. If very little is known about a phenomenon, the detailed study of a few cases is particularly appropriate because it does not rely on previous literature or prior empirical findings. Qualitative methods are also useful for making sense of highly complex situations because they offer interpretations that are validated by the main research participants themselves. Furthermore, the rich data obtained about the participants' experience can widen the scope of our understanding and can add data-driven (rather than speculative) depth to the analysis of a phenomenon.

Quote 8.2 Miles and Huberman on qualitative data

Qualitative data are sexy.

Miles and Huberman (1994: 1)

The most frequent criticism offered by quantitatively minded researchers concerns the idiosyncratic nature of the small participant samples that most qualitative studies investigate, rendering the findings ultimately unrepresentative. Another contested issue concerns the role played by the researcher in analysing the data: the strengths of qualitative findings depends to a great extent on the competence with which their analysis is carried out, and there are few firm safeguards inherent in the approach to make sure that results are not influenced by the researcher's personal biases and idiosyncrasies. Finally, for quantitative researchers who are used to standardised instruments and procedures as well as statistical analytical techniques, qualitative research can easily appear unprincipled and 'fuzzy'. From a practical point of view, qualitative research in general, and the processing of qualitative data in particular, can be rather time-consuming.

Strengths and weaknesses of mixed methods research

The main attraction of mixed methods research has been the fact that by using both qualitative and quantitative approaches a researcher can bring out the best of both paradigms while also compensating for their weaknesses. Furthermore, it is easy to think of situations in L2 motivation research when we are interested at the same time in both the exact nature (i.e. quality) and the distribution (i.e. quantity) of a phenomenon (e.g. why some teenage boys consider modern language learning 'girlish' and how extensive this perception is). Mixed methods research is particularly appropriate for such multi-level analyses because it allows investigators to obtain data about both the individual and the broader societal context. Corresponding evidence obtained through multiple methods can also increase the validity and generalisability of the results.

Thus, mixing methodologies has come to be seen by many as a forward-pointing and potentially enriching approach, but it is not without problems. For example, Hesse-Biber and Leavy (2006) suggest that the popular belief that the sum may be greater than its parts is not necessarily true, particularly if mixed methods research is used as a substitute for insightful analyses, following the 'when-in-doubt-mix-methods' strategy. However, it seems to us that the real Achilles heel of this approach is related to the issue of how well-versed any given researcher can be in both types of methodology. Given that the vast majority of researchers lack the necessary methodological skills to handle qualitative and quantitative data equally well, it is not unreasonable

to ask whether mixing methodologies is beneficial even if it is done in a somewhat imbalanced manner.

Quote 8.3 Strauss and Corbin on mixing methodologies

Qualitative and quantitative forms of research both have roles to play in theorising. The issue is not whether to use one form or another but rather how these might work together to foster the development of theory. Although most researchers tend to use qualitative and quantitative methods in supplementary or complementary forms, what we are advocating is a true interplay between the two. The qualitative should direct the quantitative and the quantitative feedback into the qualitative in a circular, but at the same time evolving, process with each method contributing to the theory in ways that only each can.

Strauss and Corbin (1998: 34)

8.4.2   Group versus individual level analysis

Without wanting to visit the well-known disagreement between qualitative and quantitative researchers with regard to individual diversity, we cannot avoid raising the issue of how meaningful group-based findings are when describing human characteristics. Research topics clearly differ in this respect. With regard to some issues it is undoubtedly beneficial to look at the commonalities found in larger groups; for example, if we are interested in the extent of ethnolinguistic prejudices in a community, we would naturally look at the pooled responses of a participant sample. However, when we are interested in individual differences proper, there is a strong argument that human variation and development are not so much a function of the strength of any individual determinant (e.g. aptitude or motivation) as the way by which the complex system of all the relevant factors *works together* in each individual case. Larsen-Freeman (2006: 615–16) summarised this clearly when she stated that 'children differ in language learning skill not because of domain-specific knowledge that they either have or don't have, but because of variations in how and when the pieces of the process were put together during learning'. This would suggest that the average index of the strength of particular individual difference

variables found in a sample – which is what individual difference research typically aims at assessing – is less meaningful in this case.

A good illustration from SLA of the very different outcomes of the two perspectives has been provided by Larsen-Freeman (2006), who studied the language development of five Chinese learners of English. First she identified a composite developmental trajectory of this group, but when she disaggregated the group data, she found unique and different developmental paths, neither of which coincided with the group results. In a group-based study a researcher would report only the composite findings – that is, the central tendency – and would tend to treat any idiosyncratic deviation from the common trend as 'noise' that should be ignored. In contrast, the dynamic systems logic would suggest that such 'noise' should not be eliminated because it may well represent the real results, and – as seen above – in some situations the central tendency may not be true of any particular person in the participant sample (cf. de Bot et al., 2007; Ellis and Larsen-Freeman, 2006).

> **Quote 8.4** Kosslyn et al.'s recommendation on combining individual and group level analyses
>
> Neither group nor individual differences research alone is sufficient; researchers need to combine the two. Indeed, by combining the two, one may discover that the group results reflect the combination of several strategies, each of which draws on a different (or partially different) system. Thus, the group and individual differences findings mutually inform each other ...
>
> Kosslyn et al. (2002: 348)

8.4.3   Longitudinal versus cross-sectional research

Longitudinal studies observe the participants for an extended period in order to detect changes and patterns of development over time that are due to (Keeves, 1994):

- biological influences (e.g. age),
- environmental influences,
- planned learning experiences.

In contrast, *cross-sectional studies* typically sample the participants' thoughts, behaviours or emotional stances at one particular point in time, as for example in a one-off survey.

Longitudinal research describes a family of methods (Menard, 2002) whose common features are as follows:

- Data are collected for two or more distinct time periods.
- The cases (participants) analysed are the same or are comparable (i.e. drawn from the same population) from one period to the next.
- The analysis involves some comparison of data between periods.

Thus, besides the 'classic' longitudinal design of *panel studies* in which the same participants are investigated on two or more occasions, the rubric of longitudinal research also includes *repeated cross-sectional studies* (or 'trend studies') of the same population, *retrospective longitudinal studies* (i.e. retrospective reporting of past events), *simultaneous cross-sectional studies* of different age groups and *experimental studies* that involve pre- and post-tests. In the L2 field, perhaps the best-known longitudinal project has been a 10-year investigation of the study of French in the UK led by Clare Burstall (e.g. Burstall et al., 1974), which also included a featured focus on language attitudes.

Which type of analysis should we prefer: longitudinal or cross-sectional? Economic reasons suggest cross-sectional designs: longitudinal studies require a major initial investment of time and energy (i.e. the collection of field data over a significant period) before any meaningful results can be obtained, and it is also rather costly to maintain contact with a significant number of sample members over an extended period of time (in the case of a panel study). Regrettably, as the relative absence of longitudinal studies in L2 motivation research indicates, few researchers have the necessary resources or choose to accept the long waiting period associated with longitudinal designs. On the other hand, most scholars would agree that longitudinal studies can offer far more meaningful insights into motivational matters than cross-sectional ones, and only by collecting longitudinal data can we fully explore the dynamic nature of the mental processes underlying motivation.

Quote 8.5 Menard on longitudinal research

[L]ongitudinal research can, in principle, do much that cross-sectional research cannot, but…there is little or nothing that cross-sectional research can, in principle, do that longitudinal research cannot.

Menard (2002: 80)

Research 8.1 **Topics researchable via longitudinal research design**

- *The dynamic interplay between motivational factors and the day-by-day events in a language course* (e.g. the comparison of the level of observed motivation at the beginning of, during and at the end of the course, as well as before and after certain featured events such as foreign trips, major tests/exams and project work).
- *The effects of teacher behaviours on student motivation* (e.g. establishing the link between motivational socialisation experiences provided by teachers and the students' adoption and internalisation of teacher-mandated values, goals and norms).
- *The change of motivation during chronological development* (e.g. age changes in the structure and impact of motivational components during critical periods of the learners' lives such as puberty or adolescence).
- *The change of motivation as a function of the development of L2 proficiency* (e.g. the decrease of motivation once a working knowledge of the L2 has been acquired).
- *The dynamics of motivation during an extended stay in the host environment* (e.g. during study trips, exchange programmes).
- *The analysis of the motivational basis of 'persistence' in the face of difficulties over an extended period* (e.g. the motivational basis of succeeding in spite of adverse conditions such as inadequate instruction or too large class sizes).
- *The micro-analysis of motivational development during the process of task-completion* (from pre-task activities through task performance to post-task activities).

Study 8.1

Marianne Nikolov (1999) 'Why do you learn English?' 'Because the teacher is short.' A study of Hungarian children's foreign language learning motivation. *Language Teaching Research* 3: 33–56.

Purpose
To explore the attitudinal/motivational changes of young Hungarian learners of English between the ages of 6 and 14.

Participants
A total of 84 children in three cohorts, 45 of them included for the full length of eight years.

Instrument
Short questionnaire consisting of six open-ended questions, asking about the reason for learning English and the children's likes and dislikes concerning the learning situation.

Procedures
The questionnaire was administered to the children once every year during an English class, after which there was a follow-up session in which the teacher (who was also the researcher) discussed the responses with the children, and took notes of the main issues raised.

Data analysis
Answers to the questions were analysed according to the main themes they contained, and the frequency of similar themes was tabulated. Following this, the results obtained from the three age groups (ages 6–8, 9–11 and 12–14) were compared.

Results
The most important motivating factors for all the age groups were situation-specific (i.e. attitudes towards the learning context, the teacher, the tasks and the materials), and these had a stronger motivational impact than integrative or instrumental motives. Knowledge as an aim gradually overtook the role of extrinsic factors like rewards and approval. Instrumental (utilitarian) motives emerged around the age of 11–12 but remained vague and general.

Study 8.2

Amel Shoaib and Zoltán Dörnyei (2005) Affect in life-long learning: Exploring L2 motivation as a dynamic process. In Benson, P. and Nunan, D. (eds) *Learners' Stories: Difference and Diversity in Language Learning*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 22–41.

Purpose
To explore the temporal progression of student motivation over an extended period within the learners' lifespan.

Participants
Fifteen female and 10 male learners, all between the ages of 18 and 34. They were of mixed nationalities (European, Asian and Middle Eastern) and were selected on the basis that they were young non-native learners of English known by the interviewers to be actively engaged in developing their English proficiency.

Instrument and data collection procedures
A semi-structured interview type was used, involving a relatively fixed interview schedule but also allowing, and even encouraging, the interviewees to elaborate on the particular issues. The interviews took 15–20 minutes on average and were recorded and transcribed.

   The interview schedule consisted of two parts. The first line of questioning involved general questions to gain background knowledge, focusing on topics such as the reasons for learning English; attitudes towards English; satisfaction with current level of language proficiency; description of the language classes the person has attended; the learners' overall commitment. The second set of questions concentrated on how the interviewee's motivation changed over the years in a retrospective manner, with a particular emphasis on the prominent motivational ups and downs. The interview was concluded by narrowing the topic further down by 'zooming in' on the interviewees' motivational changes during the past year.

Data analysis
The method of analysis employed in this study followed a 'template approach' to data processing (see Crabtree and Miller, 1992): First a template of relevant codes was prepared and this was then applied to the actual data. The grouped interview extracts corresponding to the various codes were then considered together, and interconnections forming broader patterns were established. Finally, individual 'time charts' were drawn up to describe each participant's temporal motivational progression.

Results
The main results are summarised in Section 3.3.4.

Main types and methods of motivation research

This chapter will…

- discuss some key issues concerning the research design of motivation studies;
- describe the main research methods used to analyse L2 motivation in the past;
- outline some promising future research directions.

Having looked at some of the basic issues of research design in the previous chapter, we will now present a brief overview of the main methodological options available for L2 motivation researchers. Because we believe that motivation research has reached a transition stage when it would benefit from complementing the traditional research techniques with novel methodologies, besides summarising the most common methods used in the field in the past, we will also outline certain potentially fruitful research paradigms that have been underutilised in past L2 motivation research.

9.1 Focus on groups of learners: Quantitative studies

The genesis of motivation research was closely linked to quantitative research methodology, because the founders of the field – Wallace Lambert, Robert Gardner and their students and associates (see

Section 3.1) – were social psychologists trained within this research paradigm. As a result, the primary research method used in the field has been survey research utilising questionnaires. Therefore, it is appropriate to start our overview by describing this method in some detail, with a special focus on four specific research designs that have been popular in processing questionnaire data: *correlational studies*, *factor analytical studies*, *structural equation modelling* and *experimental studies*.

9.1.1 Questionnaire surveys

Survey studies aim at describing the characteristics/attitudes/opinions of a *population* by examining a subset of that group, the *sample*, at a single point of time. The main data collection method is the use of *questionnaires*, and the results are typically processed by means of descriptive statistical analyses to provide frequencies, means, percentages, ranges, etc. The data, then, can be further analysed by inferential statistical procedures (e.g. correlation or factor analysis – see below) to explore relationships between the assessed variables.

Survey studies have regularly been used in L2 motivation research to assess the attitudinal/motivational disposition of L2 learners in various geographical, sociocultural and institutional contexts, and to compare the results of various subpopulations of learners. The largest-scale motivation survey to date has been Dörnyei et al.'s (2006) investigation of Hungarian teenagers' attitudes towards five target languages (English, German, French, Italian and Russian) over a period of 12 years, involving more than 13,000 participants.

Research 9.1   Sample research topics in survey research

Survey studies are used when the descriptive results concerning an issue obtained from a population are interesting themselves. Such topics may include:

- the language preferences in a community;
- the proportion of affective/integrative/intrinsic versus instrumental/ utilitarian/extrinsic motives;
- the main reasons (orientations) for studying a language.

On the other hand, the sheer description of the actual strength of motivational variables (e.g. the mean of the scores for instrumental motivation as measured on a five-point scale) is often of little value since it is hard to

interpret the practical significance of such raw scores. For this reason, such scores are normally provided in comparison with:

- similar scores obtained from another sample (e.g. comparing learners from different nationalities or different types of learning environment);
- similar scores obtained for another target language.

Obtaining an appropriate survey instrument

Unlike tests of cognitive abilities (e.g. language aptitude or L2 proficiency tests), motivation questionnaires are highly context-dependent and therefore even well-established batteries cannot be simply transferred to learning situations other than where they were developed without making considerable adjustments. As Gardner and Tremblay (1994b: 525) correctly emphasise, people should be encouraged 'not to simply take a set of items and administer them unthinkingly in any context.' Thus, every questionnaire survey requires the development of its own unique assessment tool that is appropriate for the particular environment and sample. Of course, this does not exclude drawing on item pools and questionnaires developed by other researchers in the past, but we must bear in mind that the items in our study may not have the same psychometric properties as in the population for which they were originally devised (particularly if they need to be translated to the learners' L1). This implies that researchers need to submit 'borrowed' items to the same set of item analysis procedures as the newly written ones.

Constructing a good questionnaire is a complex enterprise that involves a series of steps and procedures, including:

- Deciding on the general features of the questionnaire, such as the length, the format and the main parts.
- Writing effective items/questions and drawing up an item pool.
- Selecting and sequencing the items.
- Writing appropriate instructions and examples.
- Translating the questionnaire into a target language if it was not originally written in that language.
- Piloting the questionnaire and conducting item analysis.

Space limitations do not allow us to elaborate on these issues here; interested readers are referred to a comprehensive summary of

constructing, administering and processing questionnaires in second language research written by Zoltán (Dörnyei, 2010a). In addition, in Chapter 11 we offer an extensive list of questionnaire items used in past research.

Study 9.1

Zoltán Dörnyei and Kata Csizér (1998) Ten commandments for motivating language learners: Results of an empirical study. *Language Teaching Research* 2: 203–29.

Purpose
To examine language teachers' appraisal of the importance of a selection of motivational strategies and to assess how often each strategy was used in the participating teachers' own practice.

Participants
Two hundred teachers of English in Hungary (which is about 2 per cent of the estimated English teacher population), working in various locations within the country in a range of different teaching contexts, having a varied amount of teaching experience. Apart from ensuring a large enough sample size and as much diversity as possible within the sample, the selection of the participants was done by 'opportunity/convenience sampling'.

Instrument
Two questionnaires, each containing the same 51 motivational strategies that were taken from Dörnyei (1994a). In the first questionnaire respondents were asked to rate the importance of each strategy on a seven-point semantic differential scale with 'not important' and 'very important' being the two poles. The second questionnaire used the same format but the two poles were 'hardly ever' and 'very often'. In order to avoid interference, each respondent was given only one of the questionnaires. The questionnaire was piloted with 20 respondents and, consequently, the wording was revised in several places: some strategies were omitted from the list and some new ones that the respondents considered important were added.

Procedures
In order to ensure their cooperation, all the participants were approached and given a copy of the questionnaire by someone they knew. Respondents filled in the questionnaires on their own and returned them to the contact person.

Data analysis
By applying a stepwise process of item analysis, ten multi-item scales were formed and eight strategies remained individual item variables. The scales

were not 'summative scales' in the strict sense (because the constituent items focused on related but not exactly the same issues) and therefore the *importance index* of a scale was taken to be the highest coefficient of all the individual items constituting it (rather than the scale mean). All the variables were rank ordered according to their importance indices and the first ten variables formed the basis of the 'Ten commandments for motivating language learners'.

With respect to the frequency items, we were interested in the variables' *relative frequency*, which provides an index of the frequency of the use of a strategy in the light of its importance. This was achieved by *standardising* the importance and frequency scores for each strategy and computing their difference. The final measure thus indicated how the importance of a strategy related to its frequency, thereby determining underuse or overuse.

Results
The 'Ten commandments' are presented in Section 5.4. The frequency analysis revealed that the most underused strategies were: promoting the learners' *goal-orientedness*, modelling motivation through the *teacher's own behaviour*, providing the students with feelings of *challenge* and *success*, and giving clear *instructions*.

Study 9.2

James Coleman, Árpád Galaczi and Lluïsa Astruc (2007) Motivation of UK school pupils towards foreign languages: A large-scale survey at Key Stage 3. *Language Learning Journal* 35(2): 245–81.

Purpose
To analyse the nature of learner motivation and its relationship with gender, level of study (Years 7, 8 and 9) and type of school in the UK, in order to identify possible ways of increasing the number of teenagers studying a foreign language.

Participants
A total of 10,440 11–14-year-old learners (5,001 boys and 5,439 girls) in three different types of schools: Specialist Language Colleges, Asset Languages Pilot Centres (schools which have agreed to pre-test and pilot the Asset Languages assessment scheme) and other schools.

Instrument
A 29-item questionnaire adapted from Gardner's (1985) Attitude/Motivation Test Battery, focusing on four broad general categories: (a) effort,

(b) academic achievement, (c) integrative orientation and (d) instrumental orientation. The wording of the items was changed and simplified to make it more accessible for school students. The participants' responses were measured on a four-point Likert scale.

Procedures

Two hundred and forty seven schools were approached initially, of which 39 agreed to participate in the survey. After piloting the instrument on 26 Year 9 pupils, the final questionnaire was administered by the teachers during classroom time, with the completed forms returned to the researchers via prepaid post. An unexpected problem was that because of a layout error most students left blank the initial question concerning which foreign language they were studying. Consequently, target language-related variation could not be assessed.

Data analysis

The questionnaire data was entered into SPSS for statistical analysis. Outliers were identified alone and in combination, and were subsequently removed. In questions with reverse wording the scores were reversed; then the means were averaged and an overall motivation score for each student was calculated. Descriptive statistics were computed and then plotted in time charts (according to the students' cohorts). Finally, ANOVA and *t*-test comparisons were calculated across various subgroups.

Results

The findings suggest a link between the motivation of individual pupils and the nature of their school environment, especially the attitude of its management and teachers towards language study. Motivation was highest in those schools, the Specialist Language Colleges, which have formally opted to implement a mission for language learning. On the negative side, the study has confirmed previous research in finding that overall motivation and its components fall between Year 7 and Year 8, and decline further, though less steeply, between Year 8 and Year 9. Finally, gender was found to be a differentiating factor: as in other studies, girls showed and maintained higher motivation than boys.

9.1.2   Correlational studies

Correlational studies examine the relations between existing variables observed in the sample, without any attempt to alter them (which is a key difference between correlational and experimental studies, with the latter also manipulating some of the variables). *Correlation coefficients* are computed between two variables: a high coefficient indicates a strong relationship, while negative coefficients suggest an inverse

relationship. In L2 motivation studies the usual strength of the meaningful relationships detected is between 0.30 and 0.50 (for a more detailed description, see Dörnyei, 2007b).

We should note here that a major disadvantage of correlational research is that it *cannot identify cause and effect*. When two variables show significant positive interrelation, we cannot claim that this is because one causes or influences the other. All we can say is that the two variables are *interrelated*, since the higher one variable gets, the higher the other is likely to be. It can, for example, be the case that an observed positive association between two variables is only caused by their relationship with a third variable (e.g. football skills are negatively correlated with child-bearing ability only because the former is more common among males and the latter is restricted to females). We must therefore exercise caution in this respect when reporting correlational results; on the other hand, because there *may* be (and often *is*) a causal relationship between the two variables, correlation analysis can suggest directions for subsequent experimental research.

Correlation analysis has been frequently employed in L2 motivation studies by virtually every quantitative researcher, either as the main technique of data analysis or as an accompanying procedure. Furthermore, factor analysis and structural equation modelling are also correlation-based techniques, in which the 'correlation matrix' (i.e. all the possible pairs of interrelation) of all the variables entered in the analysis is further examined to detect higher-order patterns.

Research 9.2	**Sample research topics in correlational studies**

Correlation analysis is a versatile technique that can be used to examine a wide range of relationships. Correlation coefficients can be computed, for example, between motivational measures and various *criterion variables*, such as:

- effort (assessed either by means of a self-report measure or some behavioural reflection, e.g. amount of volunteering, quantity of home assignments, level of attention or attendance);
- persistence (e.g. enrolment in the next course, length of time of doing a task, or studying the L2 in general, without giving up in spite of opportunities to do so);
- some aspect of performance (e.g. use of learner strategies or the amount of L2 used in small group tasks);

- language learning achievement (e.g. language test scores or course grades).

Correlation is also appropriate to investigate the relationship between motivation and different *background characteristics*, such as:

- the learners' language aptitude or level of L2 proficiency;
- other participant characteristics, such as personality traits (e.g. extroversion), learning styles and self-esteem;
- situational characteristics, such as the amount of L2 contact available for the learners.

Finally, we can also investigate the *interrelationships* of various motives/motivational components, for example:

- parental influence and learner commitment;
- attitudes towards the task and the teacher;
- self-confidence and task attitudes.

Study 9.3

Zoltán Dörnyei and Judit Kormos (2000) The role of individual and social variables in oral task performance. *Language Teaching Research* 4: 275–300.

Purpose
To explore the effects of a number of motivational and social variables on L2 learners' engagement in oral argumentative tasks.

Participants
46 Hungarian students (aged 16–17) studying English at an intermediate level in five classes in two Budapest secondary schools.

Instrument
Two self-report questionnaires. The first addressed attitudinal/motivational issues, consisting of 32 Likert-type items, based on Clément et al.'s (1994) instrument specifically developed for Hungarian learners). The second questionnaire contained a scale assessing the level of group cohesiveness in the students' learner groups; three standard sociometric questions examining the interrelationships among the learners; and a scale assessing the participants' 'willingness to communicate' (WTC) in the L1.

Procedures
The questionnaires were administered to the students by their English teachers during an English class. The communicative tasks (from which the

criterion measures were derived) were conducted in dyads and were recorded by small portable dictaphones.

Data analysis

The recordings were transcribed and task engagement was taken to be reflected by the number of words and turns produced by the learners. All the data from the questionnaires were computer coded, and the number of variables to be analysed was reduced to 11 multi-item scales by summing the thematically corresponding items. Because there was considerable between-group variation in the learners' language output, the raw scores were standardised within each class.

Results (concerning the motivational variables)

Motivational variables (particularly the situation-specific motives) were found to make a significant impact on the learners' task performance, with several of the correlation coefficients approaching 0.50. Correlations were considerably higher in the high task-attitude half of the sample than among students who did not consider the particular task interesting and useful.

Study 9.4

Mercè Bernaus and Robert Gardner (2008) Teacher motivation strategies, student perceptions, student motivation, and English achievement. *Modern Language Journal* 92(3): 387–401.

Purpose

To explore language teaching strategies (as reported by teachers and students) and the effects of these strategies on students' motivation and English proficiency.

Participants

The participants consisted of 31 English as a foreign language teachers and their students (N = 694) in Catalonia, Spain. The students were in their last year of compulsory secondary education, around 15 years of age; 50 per cent came from public schools and 50 per cent came from private schools subsidised by the Catalan government.

Instrument

The teachers and students rated the frequency of use of 26 strategies in their classes on a 7-point scale ranging from 1 (never) to 7 (always). In addition, the students were tested on their attitudes, motivation and language anxiety with the mini-Attitude Motivation Test Battery (AMTB; Gardner and MacIntyre, 1993b) and completed objective tests of English proficiency (measuring reading and listening comprehension skills). The

mini-AMTB consists of one item corresponding to each scale on the AMTB (Gardner, 1985). When using the mini-AMTB, it is recommended that researchers direct their attention towards the major attributes in Gardner's socio-educational model by aggregating the items, rather than using the items individually. Thus, the variables resulting from the mini-AMTB were Integrativeness, Attitudes toward the Learning Situation, Motivation, Language Anxiety, Instrumental Orientation and Parental Encouragement.

Procedures

The teachers and students in 31 secondary school classes completed a series of questionnaires and two objective measures of English proficiency.

Data analysis

The relationship between the teacher and student perceptions of individual strategy use was investigated by calculating the mean use of each of the 26 strategies in each class as seen by the students and correlating this mean with the ratings made by their teacher. Thus, each correlation was based on 31 pairs of observations (one for each class). The relationships among the variables measured by the mini-AMTB and between these variables and English proficiency were assessed by computing correlations, first by using the student as the unit of analysis and second, by using the class as the unit. Finally, two correlation-based multivariate statistical procedures, path analysis and hierarchical linear modelling, were used to look at broader patterns in the dataset.

Results

The results indicated that the teachers and students agreed on the relative frequency of some but not all strategies. Although the teachers' reported use of motivational strategies was not related to the students' English proficiency, attitudes, motivation or language anxiety, the students' perceptions of these strategies tended to be related to their attitudes and motivation at both the individual and class levels. Hierarchical linear modelling analysis also indicated that the strategy use reported by the teachers did not influence the regression coefficients for any of the predictors, but the strategy use reported by students had a positive effect on the predictability of motivation on English proficiency.

9.1.3   Factor analytical studies

Factor analysis is rather complex mathematically but fairly straightforward conceptually (for a summary, see Dörnyei, 2007b). In order to uncover the latent structure that underlies a large dataset, it reduces the number of variables submitted to the analysis to a few values that will still contain most of the information found in the original variables.

The outcome of the procedure is a small set of underlying dimensions, referred to as *factors* or *components*, and the computer produces a table – the 'factor matrix' – which contains the correlations between these factors and the original variables from which the factors have been extracted. These correlations are the *factor loadings* and they show the extent to which each of the original variables has contributed to the resultant factors. Factor analytical studies exploit the 'pattern-finding' capacity of the procedure by sampling a wide range of items and then examining their interrelationships and the common underlying themes. Because factor analysis is useful in making large data sets more manageable, the procedure is also used as a preparatory phase in data processing to some further analyses.

Factor analysis was the key statistical technique used at the genesis of L2 motivation research. The pioneering article in the field, 'Motivational variables in second-language acquisition' by Gardner and Lambert (1959) was entirely based on this procedure, and the famous notion of 'integrative orientation' was introduced because one factor denoted a 'willingness to be like valued members of the language community' (p. 271). During the last decade structural equation modelling (see below) has almost entirely replaced factor analysis, because it also includes directional paths between the variables and not just information about how the variables hang together.

Research 9.3   Sample research topics in factor analytical studies

Factor analysis is an indispensable tool to study any complex psychological construct – intelligence research, for example, has relied heavily on it in the past to identify the major constituents of this multifaceted latent concept (cf. Carroll, 1993). With motivation being similar to intelligence in its abstract and multidimensional character, L2 researchers have also used factor analysis widely to explore the internal architecture of L2 motivation. The main use of the procedure in contemporary research lies in the detection of underlying dimensions of narrower subdomains, such as:

- the various language learning goals (or orientations) of the learners;
- the appraisal of the L2 teacher;
- influences stemming from the social milieu (e.g. the effects of friends, parents or various reference groups);
- language contact effects, either indirect (e.g. the influence of L2 films, books or music) or direct (e.g. meeting L2 speakers in various capacities);

- attitudes to various formal properties of the L2 (e.g. complexity of grammar, flexibility of use, perceived ease of learning, aural character).

The identified dimensions, then, can be used for the purpose of clustering variables into multi-item scales, which can, in turn, be further analysed by means of other techniques.

Study 9.5

Judy Chen, Clyde Warden and Huo-Tsan Chang (2005) Motivators that do not motivate: The case of Chinese EFL learners and the influence of culture on motivation. *TESOL Quarterly* 39(4): 609–33.

Purpose
To explore language learning motivation constructs in a Chinese cultural setting, where large numbers of students are required to study English.

Participants
Six hundred and forty eight Taiwanese learners of English responded to an Internet-based open invitation to participate in the survey and finally 567 completed the survey with valid data. Respondents' average age was 25 and the most common occupation was student (42 per cent), followed by office worker (25 per cent). Most respondents had a college degree (64 per cent), with 7 per cent indicating a graduate degree. Only 5 per cent of the sample had majored in English specifically and another 1.80 per cent had majored in another language; the remaining respondents had majored in management (26 per cent), engineering and other science areas (48 per cent) and humanities (16 per cent). The sample compared well with government statistics on Internet usage in Taiwan at the time, and also matched government reported demographics of 15–40 year olds (the age range of respondents). Comparison of education levels, gender, marital status and income all showed a minimum of self-selection bias in the sample.

Instrument
A twenty-three-item web-based survey, focusing on motivation orientation as well as language use and skill, previously tested in a Chinese cultural setting. Each of the 23 questions addressed five specific language skill dimensions (writing, reading, listening, speaking and grammar), rated on a 7-point Likert scale. Semantic anchors differed according to the three motivational phases assessed (following Dörnyei and Ottó's model; see Section 3.3.3): Preactional phase questions were anchored by *Not at all important* (1) to *Very important* (7); actional phase questions were anchored by *None at all* (1) to *Very much effort* (7); and postactional phase questions were anchored by *Far below average* (1) to *Far above average* (7).

Procedures

The questionnaire was presented in the form of an interactive computer-assisted survey instrument deployed over the Web. A banner advertising the survey was placed on the portal webpages of two local Internet service providers, and potential participants were invited to click on this banner to open a browser window to the survey website. They were then asked to answer the survey questions that appeared on the screen one at a time in a randomised order. After completion, demographic information was collected and a selection of restaurant gift certificates was presented from which the respondent could choose one (valued at approximately US$1.50).

Data analysis

Factor analysis and structural equation modeling were used to explore potential relationships within the framework of the process model.

Results

Student expectancy of success (based on actual language use and success) was found to be an intervening construct between motivation orientations and self-evaluated skill. The strongest link to expectancy was 'required motivation', a form of extrinsic motivation fuelled by institutional requirements and exams, with integrative motivation playing no significant role. The context of these findings is discussed in relation to Chinese cultural and educational history and a proposed new motivator: the 'Chinese Imperative', reflecting the emphasis on requirements that are internalised within the culturally specific context.

Study 9.6

Joseph Falout, James Elwood and Michael Hood (2009) Demotivation: Affective states and learning outcomes. *System* 37(3): 403–17.

Purpose

To explore the demotivating factors in learning English as a foreign language and the relationship between past demotivating experiences and present proficiencies in Japan (for more details, see Setion 6.3.6).

Participants

Nine hundred Japanese university learners of English, representing 28 majors across seven universities in four Tokyo-area prefectures. The percentages of demographic variables within this population were: female 38.00 per cent, male 61.56 per cent, humanities majors 71.11 per cent

(including English majors 15.89 per cent), science majors 28.88 per cent, freshmen 51.33 per cent, sophomores 25.67 per cent, juniors 17.67 per cent, seniors 4.78 per cent, graduate students 0.22 per cent.

Instrument
'EFL Demotivational Questionnaire', comprising two sections: (1) Demographic section recording university major, gender, and self-reported proficiency levels based on results from standardised tests. (2) 52 items relating to teacher and class experiences, as well as to reactive behaviors to demotivating experiences, measured either by a six-point semantic differential scale for reporting agreement with the affective items (1 = strongly disagree; 6 = strongly agree), or a six-point rating scale reporting the frequency of the experiential items (1 = almost never happened; 6 = almost always happened).

Procedures
To obtain information about past experiences and to avoid the bias of participants basing their responses on their immediate circumstances, questionnaires were administered in the first or second class session of the academic school year. Participants were told that (a) the survey was for research purposes only, (b) participation was voluntary, (c) their privacy would be protected and (d) the information given would in no way affect their grades. They completed the questionnaire within 20 minutes.

Data analysis
The collected questionnaires were checked for missing data or uniform answers marked across all items on a page (at least 16 out of 52 items): of the 1,010 surveys collected, 27 had such insufficient data and were eliminated from the final sample. Then values that contained multivariate outliers were checked with a $p \leq .001$ criterion for Mahalanobis distance, and as a result, an additional 83 surveys were deleted, leaving a sample size of 900. Eleven cases of missing data were handled by mean replacement.

First, a principle component factor analysis was performed with SPSS using oblique (oblimin) rotation. The cut-off point for loadings on factors was set at 0.45 and subsequently nine factors emerged with at least three loadings. Then a stepwise multiple regression analysis was performed with language proficiency as the dependent variable and the nine factors as the independent variables. Finally, analyses of variance (ANOVA) were conducted to examine the relationships between the nine factors and three independent variables: language proficiency, year in school, and whether the learners were English majors or not.

Results
The results are described in Section 6.3.6.

9.1.4   Studies using structural equation modelling

Structural equation modelling (SEM) is a relatively recent procedure which allows researchers to test cause–effect relationships based on correlational data. Thus, it is a very powerful analytical tool as it attempts to combine the versatility of correlation analysis and the causal validity of experimental research (see below). Because SEM is concerned with the adequacy of hypothesised theoretical constructs (i.e. abstract or latent variables), it is particularly suitable for studying motivational issues. (For good introductions to structural equation modelling, see Byrne, 2010; Kline, 2005; Schumacker and Lomax, 2004.)

To start applying SEM to data, researchers need an explicitly stated theoretical model in which the main variables are quantified and their directional relationship is clearly stated. The SEM procedure is then used to confirm or reject the validity of this model – thus, SEM is not an exploratory but a *confirmatory* technique, although it is capable of suggesting certain adjustments to the model tested by providing 'modification indices'. Based on the testing of the adequacy of the submitted model, SEM provides various goodness-of-fit measures.

SEM models have been used in L2 motivation research since the early 1980s. With the various SEM software packages becoming easier to handle and more readily available (e.g. as part of SPSS), there has been a rapid increase in the utilisation of the procedure during the past decade. This growing popularity is well deserved since SEM is a powerful technique, ideally suited to the study of L2 motivation. However, it has certain limitations and particularly two issues need to be borne in mind:

1. *Goodness of fit and possible alternative models.* SEM provides several indices to show how satisfactory the fit of the final model is and these can be used to compare alternative models or to reject ill-fitting models. However, even a solution with an adequate fit is only one of many that might fit the data equally well. Thus, SEM is not the 'be-all and end-all to research endeavours concerned with inferring causation from correlational data' (Gardner, 1985: 155). It does *not* identify causation but only informs the researcher whether a hypothesised cause–effect relationship is conceivable based on the total amount of data.

2. *Oversimplification of causal relationships.* Causal models with unidirectional relationships can oversimplify the complex relationships of certain psychological variables which operate in an interactive mode in a continuous, cyclical fashion. As we saw in Chapters 3–4 (especially in Section 4.1.1), if we adopt a socio-dynamic perspective

we have to abandon assuming simple linear relationships between distinct variables, and even though SEM can handle a large number of factors in a unified paradigm, the procedure is not suitable to test the dynamically evolving relationships among them.

Research 9.4   Sample research topics in SEM studies

Structural equation modelling is used to interpret the relationship among several variables within a single framework. It is appropriate to test 'grand' theories, that is, comprehensive models made up of a number of complex, interrelated variables. The main restriction to the use of SEM is that it presupposes a well-developed theoretical model in which the relationship between the different variables is explicitly marked (including the direction of the relationships). Some concrete areas where conducting SEM is feasible are:

- the motivational basis of task performance in instructional settings;
- the motivational antecedents of language choice;
- motivational factors contributing to demotivation.

A very useful and as yet underutilised function of SEM is 'multiple-group analysis', that is, the investigation of several sample groups in terms of their similarities and differences in model parameters. Such an analysis can be used to explore for example:

- the effects of group membership (e.g. belonging to different class groups) on motivational patterns;
- the differences between novice and expert learners' motivational task processing;
- the comparison of motivational patterns across cultures.

Study 9.7

Tatsuya Taguchi, Michael Magid and Mostafa Papi (2009) The L2 Motivational Self System among Japanese, Chinese and Iranian learners of English: A comparative study. In Z. Dörnyei and E. Ushioda (eds) *Motivation, Language Identity and the L2 Self*. Multilingual Matters, Bristol, pp. 66–97.

Purpose
To validate Dörnyei's L2 Motivational Self System in three Asian contexts: Japan, China and Iran.

Participants

1,586 learners in Japan, 1,328 in China and 2,029 in Iran, made up of four learner types: secondary school students, university English majors, university non-English majors and working professionals.

Instrument

Three versions of a motivation questionnaire were developed (for a detailed description of the design procedures and the actual instruments, see Dörnyei, 2010a; the items are also listed in Section 11.3.4). They contained six-point Likert-scales and question-type items assessed by six-point rating scales with 'not at all' anchoring the left end and 'very much' anchoring the right end. The total number of questionnaire items was 67 in the Japanese and Chinese versions, and 76 in the Iranian version.

Procedures

Apart from ensuring a large enough sample size and as much diversity as possible within the samples, the selection of the participants was primarily done by 'opportunity/convenience sampling' using the researchers' contacts in various teaching institutions.

Data analysis

The obtained data were processed by means of correlation analysis and SEM. For the latter analysis, the datasets from the three versions were submitted to 'Analysis of Moment Structures' (AMOS) version 7.0 (Arbuckle, 2006), one of the popular programs for SEM analysis. AMOS provides many types of goodness-of-fit indices. One of the most important indices is χ^2; however, because concerns have been raised about using the χ^2 statistic for large samples (as it has an inherent bias against sample sizes that are greater than 200), the study also looked at three other fit indices: the goodness-of-fit index (GFI), the comparative fit index (CFI), and the root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA).

Results

- The main conclusion drawn from the study was that the past findings of Dörnyei's large-scale Hungarian research project were not country-specific because similar patterns were observed in three countries that differ greatly from Hungary and from each other.
- The findings supported the tenet underlying the L2 Motivational Self System that *Integrativeness* can be relabelled as the *Ideal L2 Self*.
- The results confirmed that Instrumentality can be classified into two distinct constructs, associated with promotion versus prevention tendencies, depending on the extent of the internalisation of external incentives.
- The SEM analysis confirmed the validity of the tripartite construct of the L2 Motivational Self System and also revealed certain cross-cultural differences in the three different educational contexts.

Study 9.8

Wen-Ta Tseng and Norbert Schmitt (2008) Toward a model of motivated vocabulary learning: A structural equation modeling approach. *Language Learning* 58(2): 357–400.

Purpose
To examine via structural equation modelling (SEM) the interrelationship of vocabulary knowledge and motivation with six latent variables: the initial appraisal of vocabulary learning experience, self-regulating capacity of vocabulary learning, strategic vocabulary learning involvement, mastery of vocabulary learning tactics, vocabulary knowledge, and postappraisal of the effectiveness of vocabulary learning tactics.

Participants
Forty-nine university students from a Taiwanese university and 210 participants from a Chinese university (130 males, 129 females). All were undergraduate freshmen majoring in a variety of disciplines, including Business and Management, Geology, Chemical Engineering, Computer Science, and Applied Foreign Languages. Before participating in the study, both groups of learners had received English education for more than six years.

Instrument
A wide range of measures were used to assess the latent variables (a total of 122 items) and the learners' vocabulary knowledge (a total of 180 items). Most of these were newly developed for the study, following a rigorous test development and item analysis procedure, while some have been adapted from previously used instruments (e.g. the 'Self-Regulating Capacity in Vocabulary Learning Scale; Tseng et al., 2006).

Procedures
A pilot study was carried out, with the item analysis including reliability, validity and unidimensionality analysis. As a result, amendments were made to various measures. The procedures used for participant recruitment and for the administration of the study in both Chinese and Taiwanese research sites were the same: first, the purpose of the study was explained to the participants and consent forms were collected, then they were all invited to complete the study at a time when they had at least three hours available. The tests were administered to groups of participants who were available at the same time. The vocabulary tests were administered first, followed by the self-report scales. Most students completed the study within 2.5 hours. Chinese participants received $10 REM and Taiwanese participants $150 NT dollars for joining the project.

Data analysis

First, in order to confirm that the latent variables had no crossover with each other and that the indicators were loading solely on the expected variables, a principle axis factor analysis was performed. This confirmed the latent traits and indicators and thus allowed the researchers to proceed with the main SEM analysis. The results of the model evaluation showed that five out of eight goodness-of-fit indices used in the study reached or exceeded acceptable fit thresholds of the suitability of the hypothesized model: the chi-square/*df* ratio, the comparative fit index (CFI), the Tucker-Lewis index (TLI), the incremental fit index (IFI), and the root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA); the three model fit indices that did not meet the acceptable fit thresholds (the goodness-of-fit index [GFI], the adjusted goodness-of-fit index [AGFI] and the normed fit index [NFI]) all approached those thresholds. As in SEM it is normal for some indices not to conform to the majority trend, the authors concluded that there was a strong case that the hypothesised model had a good overall fit with the empirical data.

Results

The model provides a snapshot of the ongoing dynamics of motivated vocabulary learning, suggesting that it functions as a cyclic process. The model supports the importance of motivation in the vocabulary learning process and confirmed the division of strategic behavior into two components: one frequency-based and metacognitive in nature and the other focusing on the mastery of individual strategies (i.e. how well they are used).

9.1.5   Experimental studies

Many research studies in applied linguistics are intended to uncover causal links by answering questions such as 'What's the reason for . . . ?' 'What happens if/when . . . ?' and 'What effect does something have on . . . ?' However, to establish firm cause–effect relationships is surprisingly difficult because in real life nothing happens in isolation and it is hard to disentangle the interferences of various related factors. Fortunately, research methodology has succeeded in developing a way of getting around this problem by means of the *experimental design*. The idea is ingenious in its simplicity:

1. Take a group of people, administer some intervention (or 'treatment') to them and check the outcome; naturally, as stated above,

even if we find some significant change, there is no way to tell the extent to which the treatment was responsible for generating it.

2. Compare the results with those obtained from a group that is similar in every respect to the treatment/experimental group *except for the fact that it did not receive the treatment* (this group is usually called the 'control group'). If there are any differences between the results of the two groups, these can now be unambiguously attributed to the only difference between them, the intervention/treatment variable.

Thus, the common feature of experimental designs is the fact that certain consciously manipulated processes take place in a tightly controlled environment in which only the target variables are varied while others are kept constant. Although experimental research has variations, a typical experimental design would be an 'intervention study', in which some sort of instructional treatment (e.g. special communicative L2 training) is administered to a group of learners and the observed effects of the training are compared to the rate of development in a control group that has not received the treatment. If there is significantly more development in the experimental group than in the control group (which can be determined by using 'analysis of covariance' with the pre-test results being the covariates; or computing 'analysis of variance' of the 'gain scores', i.e. the difference between the post-test and pre-test scores; see Dörnyei, 2007), we can conclude that the intervention was successful and that the treatment variable has caused the outcome. It must be emphasised that experimentation is a natural human way of enquiry: this is the basis of 'trying out something to see what happens', that is, putting ideas to the test (e.g. changing the daily routines of a child if he or she has problems going to sleep at night).

Of course, there are several methodological challenges behind the 'simplicity' of the experimental design, most notably the issue of how to make the control group similar to the treatment group. As Cook and Campbell (1979) summarise, one of the great breakthroughs in experimental design was the realisation that – if there is a sufficient number of participants – the *random assignment* of participants to experimental and control groups can provide a way of making the average participant in one group comparable to the average participant in the other group before the treatment is applied. However, in most educational settings random assignment of students by the researcher is not possible or practical and therefore researchers often have to resort to a 'quasi-experimental design' (Concept 9.1).

Concept 9.1   **Quasi-experimental designs**

Quasi-experiments are similar to true experiments in every respect except that they do not use random assignment to create the comparisons from which treatment-caused change is inferred. Because of the practical constraints, working with 'nonequivalent groups' has become an accepted research methodology in field studies where randomisation is impossible or impractical. However, in such cases we cannot rely on the neat and automatic way the true experiment deals with various threats to validity but have to deal with these threats ourselves. In practical terms, in order to be able to make causal claims based on a quasi-experimental study, the effects of the initial group-differences need to be taken into account. This requires that we measure the main sources of difference between the treatment and control groups, such as aptitude, L2 proficiency, initial motivation or past task experience. Once we have these measures, various computer procedures allow us to make statistical adjustments accordingly, that is, to screen the unwanted effects out of the outcome measure (e.g. by means of analysis of covariance).

In L2 motivation research there have been a number of experimental studies investigating the motivational effects of bicultural excursion programmes, methodological interventions, intensive language programmes and study trips abroad (for reviews, see Gardner, 1985: ch. 5; MacFarlane and Wesche, 1995; Morgan, 1993). These studies vary in their degree of the 'conscious manipulation' of the treatment variable by the researchers (and therefore some are more like longitudinal studies than experiments) and some do not include control groups.

Research 9.5   **Sample research topics in experimental studies**

Because of the process-oriented nature of motivation, several of the longitudinal research topics mentioned in Section 8.4.3 can be studied using an experimental design if we manipulate and control some of the change conditions (instead of merely observing the developments/changes). For example, experimental studies can focus on:

• the effects of certain instructional procedures on student motivation (e.g. comparing the motivation of learners who participate in different instructional activities);

• motivational change as a function of induced L2 contact (e.g. a trip to the L2 environment);

- the analysis of motivational change in various task conditions (e.g. the role of different types of pre- and post-task activities, task instructions/introductions and other task organisational factors such as methods of grouping).

  Two motivational domains where experimental studies are indispensable are:

- assessing the effects of different forms of feedback on the students' motivational disposition;
- testing the effectiveness of motivational strategies (i.e. testing whether the application of certain motivational strategies does indeed result in a higher level of student motivation).

Study 9.9

Smadar Donitsa-Schmidt, Ofra Inbar and Elana Shohamy (2004) The effect of teaching spoken Arabic on students' attitudes and motivation in Israel. *Modern Language Journal* 88: 217–28.

Purpose
To examine the effect of an experimental programme of teaching spoken Arabic (Palestinian dialect) on Israeli learners' attitudes, motivation and achievement, and to investigate parental attitudes towards the project.

Participants
Experimental group: 539 students in grades 4–6 (ages 9–11) in nine schools and 218 parents; control group: 153 students in five schools and 144 parents. The schools (all in Tel-Aviv) were selected by using stratified random sampling, with the strata being socio-economic status and religious vs secular. Within these schools all the pupils participated whose parents filled in and returned the consent forms (return rate: 35 per cent).

Instruments (motivation-related)

- The *student questionnaire* (17 four-point rating scales; two open-ended questions; three selection and rank-ordering items) focused on the exposure to Arabic, family background in Arabic, attitudes towards the Arabic language and its culture, appraisal of the importance of Arabic in Israel, satisfaction of the students with Arabic classes, and motivation to continue studying Arabic in junior high school.
- The *parent questionnaire* (11 five-point rating scales; two multiple choice items; two language background items) focused on the knowledge of Arabic, exposure to the Arabic language and its culture, appraisal

of the importance of studying Arabic, and the preferred starting age for studying literary and spoken Arabic.

Procedures
Students filled in the questionnaires in class. Parents filled in the questionnaires together with the consent form.

Data analysis
Analysis of variance of the post-test results in the two experimental conditions; chi-square analysis of the responses in the experimental and control groups that were summarised in percentages; regression analysis of the variables predicting motivation to continue studying Arabic.

Results (selected)
The significant outcome differences between the experimental and treatment group have indicated that the teaching of spoken Arabic:

- positively affects the attitudes towards the language and its culture, and increases the motivation to study the language;
- improves the motivation to study the language for peace and pragmatic (utilitarian) reasons, rather than because of the surrounding countries and in order to deal with Israel's enemies (areas where the control group's scores were significantly higher).

The best predictors of the intention to continue studying Arabic were:

- the quality of the teaching programme;
- student attitudes towards Arabic and its culture;
- students' perception of parental support.

Study 9.10

Xinyi Wu (2003) Intrinsic motivation and young language learners: The impact of the classroom environment. *System* 31: 501–17.

Purpose
To explore the influence of classroom learning environment on L2 intrinsic motivation of young foreign language learners in a predominantly monolingual context.

Participants
Seventy-two young children, aged 4–6, in a spare-time English school in China. All of them were complete beginners of English and were at the beginning of their studies.

Instrument and design

The study adopted a nonequivalent control group quasi-experimental design, with the teaching method being the independent variable and L2 intrinsic motivation, perceived competence and perceived autonomy being the dependent variables. No pretest was used because all the subjects in the experimental and control groups were complete beginners of English. Post-test measures were obtained by means of structured interviews using motivational scales at the end of the study. These scales were adapted from previously published measures in educational psychology as well as from Noels et al.'s (2000) 'Language Learning Orientations Scale'. To guarantee that the treatment in the quasi-experiment was consistent with the motivational strategies proposed in the first hypothesis, and to uncover the motivational dynamics involved, qualitative classroom observation was conducted to obtain data on the process of teaching and learning in both groups.

Procedures

The experiment lasted about eight months and the learners had two, 90-minute English lessons a week. They were assigned to four parallel classes according to the sequence of signing up: two class groups formed the experimental group, receiving an innovative teaching method designed to promote the learners' intrinsic motivation, the other two classes served as the control group, following the normal school curriculum. Children's rhymes, poems, songs, stories and daily conversations were adopted as the main teaching materials. The researcher was the English teacher of the experimental group and a teacher of similar age, teaching experience and English proficiency taught in the control group.

Data analysis

The post-test data on L2 intrinsic motivation, perceived competence and perceived autonomy were collected during the last two weeks of the study. The children were interviewed in a one-to-one encounter in their spare time and were asked to rate the degree to which each item applied to them on a 1 (not at all true of me) to 4 (very true of me) rating scale. Then a preliminary 2 (gender) × 3 (age) × 2 (teaching method) multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) was run to find out if differences in gender, age or teaching method led to significant variance in overall intrinsic motivation. This preliminary MANOVA revealed no main effects of age and gender on overall intrinsic motivation, and neither did these variables have any interactive effects with the teaching method, which in turn was found to have a significant main effect on overall intrinsic motivation. Consequently, age and gender were excluded from the following independent samples t-tests used to compare the control and experimental groups.

> **Results**
> The results showed that (a) a predictable learning environment, moderately challenging tasks, necessary instructional support as well as evaluation that emphasised self-improvement and attributed success or failure to controllable variables were effective ways to enhance young learners' *self-perceptions of L2 competence*; (b) student freedom in choosing the content, methods and performance outcomes of learning, as well as integrative strategy training led to a promotion of *perceived autonomy* – both variables are well established antecedents of intrinsic L2 motivation.

9.2   Focus on individual learners: qualitative studies

Although there is a range of qualitative research techniques and designs (e.g. case-studies, introspective methods, diary studies, etc.), most of the published research in this vein is centred around one method in particular, *interviews* (for a more detailed overview, see Richards, 2003). The 'interview' rubric can be divided into at least four broad types, the first three involving a one-to-one format, the fourth a group format:

1. In a *structured interview* the researcher closely follows a pre-prepared interview schedule/guide, which contains a list of questions to be covered closely with every interviewee, and the elicited information shares many of the advantages (e.g. comparability across participants) and disadvantages (e.g. limited richness) of questionnaire data.

2. The other extreme, the *unstructured interview*, allows maximum flexibility to 'follow' the interviewee into unpredictable directions, with only minimal interference from the research agenda. The intention is to create a relaxed atmosphere in which the respondent may reveal more than he or she would in more formal contexts, with the interviewer assuming a listening role. No detailed interview guide is prepared in advance, although the researcher usually thinks of a few (one to six) opening questions (sometimes called 'grand tour' questions) to elicit the interviewee's story.

3. *Semistructured interviews* offer a compromise between the two extremes: Although there is a set of pre-prepared guiding questions and prompts, the format is open-ended – the interviewer provides guidance and direction (hence the '-structured' part in the name), but he or she is also keen to follow up interesting developments and to let the interviewee elaborate on certain issues in an exploratory manner (hence the 'semi-' part). This type of interview is suitable

for cases when the researcher has a good enough overview of the phenomenon or domain in question and is able to develop broad questions about the topic in advance but does not want to use ready-made response categories that would limit the depth and breadth of the respondent's story. This format therefore needs an 'interview guide' which has to be made and piloted in advance.

4. *Focus group interviews* involve groups of (usually 6–12) people discussing some shared concern, with the interviewer (labelled as the 'moderator') taking on the group leader's role. This format is based on the collective experience of group brainstorming, that is, participants thinking together, inspiring and challenging each other, and reacting to the emerging issues and points (see Marková et al., 2007).

Because of the strong initial influences of quantitative social psychology on L2 motivation research, qualitative studies have traditionally not been part of the research repertoire in the field. Ema Ushioda (1994, 1996a) was one of the first to advocate qualitative approaches to the study of L2 motivation, arguing that the quantitative framework is necessarily limiting with regard to this dynamic construct. In the present state of L2 motivation research, characterised by searches for a new understanding of the intricate and multilevel construct of motivation, the increased adoption of qualitative research methods seems highly beneficial and timely (the detailed argument is presented in Section 4.3.3). Qualitative interviewing is also an indispensable component of mixed methods research as well as of investigations that adopt a complex dynamic systems perspective (for both, see below).

Research 9.6   Sample research topics in interview studies

In contrast to the quantitative tradition, whose strength lies in detecting general trends across learners, qualitative interviewing is more appropriate to uncover the complex interaction of social, cultural and psychological factors within the individual learner. Past L2 motivation research has distilled a set of valuable concepts and principles that have stood the test of time; qualitative studies, in turn, can reveal:

- how these general principles are reflected in actual people's lives;
- what patterns emerge as a result of the dynamic interplay of (a) motivational forces, (b) time and (c) personal priorities;
- what other, thus far undetected or underrated, confounding factors shape student motivation (and demotivation).

Study 9.11

Ema Ushioda (2001) Language learning at university: Exploring the role of motivational thinking. In Z. Dörnyei and R. Schmidt (eds), *Motivation and Second Language Acquisition*. Honolulu, HI: University of Hawaii, pp. 93–125.

Purpose
To explore language learners' own working conceptions of their motivation and their perspectives on motivational evolution and experience over time.

Participants
20 university learners of French in Ireland.

Instrument
Two rounds of individual interviews; first round interviews followed a very loosely structured format, shaped by each participant's reponse to the opening prompt to explain his or her motivation for learning French; second round interviews (15–16 months later) followed a semi-structured format on the basis of prompts relating to four aspects of motivational change, influence and experience over time.

Procedures
Interviews lasted 15–20 minutes and were audio-recorded and transcribed in full.

Data analysis
Detailed qualitative content analysis of the first round interview data, resulting in eight motivational dimensions, which were then used to develop descriptive motivational profiles of each participant; qualitative content analysis of the second round interview data, based on the four aspects of motivational dynamics probed.

Results
The main results of the first round data analysis are summarised in Section 3.3.2, and those of the second round data analysis in Section 6.3.3.

Study 9.12

Allison Bolster (2009) Continuity or a fresh start? A case-study of motivation in MFL at transition, KS2–3. *Language Learning Journal* 37(2): 233–54.

Purpose

To explore how the transition from primary to secondary school affected the language learning motivation of two groups of pupils, one which experienced continuity in their language learning during the transition, and another which started a new language in the first year of their secondary studies.

The study

The main research technique was individual semi-structured interviews with pupils in Year 6 (primary school) and Years 7 and 8 (secondary school) in a British school that had both a primary and a secondary school section. The first interviews were conducted with two young learners in Year 6 (one of them more able than average, the other less so by teacher report) to sound out their levels of interest in and enjoyment of French before transition. Their attitudes were then compared with those demonstrated by pupils who were continuing to learn French in Year 7, in contrast to those of pupils starting French as absolute beginners in Year 7. Finally, in order to establish whether the levels of motivation observed among beginners and continuers persisted into the longer term, three further interviews were conducted with pupils who had been set into ability groups in Year 8. The interviews were audio-recorded and transcribed.

Results

Although overall motivation levels were generally good, they appeared to be slightly higher among the continuers interviewed than the beginners, and the same trend was true for the learners' overall achievement. Thus, continuity and acknowledgment of prior learning of a foreign language were shown to have a positive impact, both at transition (Year 7) and in the longer term (Year 8).

Study 9.13

Magdalena Kubanyiova (2009) Possible selves in language teacher development. In Dörnyei, Z. and Ushioda, E. (eds) *Motivation, Language Identity and the L2 Self*. Bristol: Multilingual Matters: 314–32.

Purpose

To apply Dörnyei's L2 Motivational Self System (see Section 4.2) and possible selves theory to explain the mixed impact and rather curious pattern of teacher development observed in a language teacher training course.

Participants
Eight non-native speaking Slovakian EFL teachers participating in a specially-designed 20-hour experiential in-service teacher development course. Seven of the participants worked in the state sector (four teaching in secondary schools, one in a primary school and two in higher education); one participant was employed in the private sector.

The study
The qualitative fieldwork involved five phases of data collection spread over the course of a school year. Each phase lasted approximately two weeks and included delivering a five-hour session of the teacher development course and subsequent field visits to the course participants' schools (involving classroom observations, informal conversations and more formal in-depth qualitative interviews with the research participants). Classroom observations (55 in total) were of ethnographic nature, generating extensive descriptive data of the teachers' instructional behaviours, classroom discourse and student engagement patterns. The interviews (31 in total, producing just 29 hours of audiorecorded data) explored three main thematic strands: the research participants' profiles, the characteristics of the observed lessons and issues related to the training course. Data from several non-participating informants, such as students, head teachers, university teacher trainers and the participants' colleagues were also collected.

Data analysis
The qualitative data analysis followed a theory-building path. Using the qualitative data analysis software, NVivo, the data were examined for emerging themes and recurring patterns, leading to the development of a novel theoretical model of language teacher conceptual change.

Results
The results of the study are summarised in Section 7.2.4.

9.3   Mixing methodologies

A mixed methods study involves the collection and/or analysis of both quantitative and qualitative data in a single study with some attempts to integrate the two approaches at one or more stages of the research process. According to Sandelowski (2003), there are two main and somewhat conflicting purposes for combining methods: (a) to achieve a fuller understanding of a target phenomenon and (b) to verify one set of findings against the other. In the first instance the goal is to achieve an elaborate and comprehensive understanding of a complex matter,

looking at it from different angles. The second purpose is the traditional goal of triangulation, namely to validate one's conclusion by presenting converging results obtained through different methods. For L2 motivation research, it is the first purpose in particular that makes mixed methods research invaluable, as this methodology allows scholars to examine issues that are embedded in complex educational and social contexts.

There are many forms and ways of mixing methods and this brief summary cannot offer a detailed description (for a recent, comprehensive overview, see Teddlie and Tashakkori, 2009; for an L2-specific summary, see Dörnyei, 2007b). Instead, we would like to highlight here six specific design types that may be relevant to future motivation studies:

1. *Questionnaire survey with follow-up interview*. Although the questionnaire survey is a versatile technique that allows us to collect a large amount of data in a relatively short time, it also suffers from an inherent weakness: the respondents' engagement tends to be rather shallow and therefore we cannot explore complex meaning directly with this technique. As a consequence, if the statistical analyses produce some unexpected results (and there are always some unexpected results!) we cannot usually interpret those on the basis of the questionnaire data. Adding a subsequent qualitative component to the study can remedy this weakness. In a follow-up interview (either in an individual or group format) we can ask the respondents to explain or illustrate the obtained patterns, thereby adding flesh to the bones (e.g. Lamb, 2004; Lyons, 2009). An important variation of this design involves conducting a 'retrospective interview' (Gass and Mackey, 2000) with some of the survey participants, using the respondents' own survey responses as the retrospective prompts for further open-ended reflection about what they really meant (e.g. Egbert, 2003).

2. *Questionnaire survey with preceding interview*. A frequently recommended procedure for designing a new questionnaire involves conducting a small-scale exploratory qualitative study first (usually focus group interviews but one-to-one interviews can also serve the purpose) to provide background information on the context, to identify or narrow down the focus of the possible variables and to act as a valuable source of ideas for preparing the item pool for the purpose of questionnaire scale construction. Such a design is effective in improving the content representation of the survey and thus the internal validity of the study. It is routinely used when a researcher is building a new instrument (e.g. Tseng et al., 2006).

3. *Interview study with follow-up questionnaire*. One of the main strengths of qualitative research is its exploratory nature, allowing us to gain new insights and formulate new theories. However, because of the non-representativeness of the typical samples, qualitative data cannot inform us about how widely what is discovered exists in the rest of the world – examining the distribution of a phenomenon in a population is a typically quantitative objective. Combining a qualitative interview study with a follow-up survey can offer the best of both worlds, as the questionnaire can specifically target the issues uncovered in the first phase of the research and investigate the generalisability of the new hypotheses in wider populations.

4. *Interview study with preceding questionnaire*. An area where qualitative research shows vulnerability is the usually small sample sizes of the respondents examined. One way of dealing with this issue is to apply purposive sampling, and this procedure can be made more principled if we include an initial questionnaire in the study whose role is to help to select the participants for the subsequent qualitative phase systematically. The strength of this design is its flexibility because it can be used for most theoretical sampling purposes (e.g. to choose extreme or typical cases or to highlight individuals with certain traits).

5. *Observational studies*. Because motivation is unobservable, observational data can only be used to obtain information about the *consequences* of motivation (rather than motivation itself), for example about motivated behaviour in the language classroom. Therefore, this data type needs to be combined with either questionnaire or interview data. Recently, Guilloteaux and Dörnyei (2008) have designed an observation scheme – MOLT (Motivation Orientation in Language Teaching) – that specifically focuses on aspects of the teacher's motivational practice and the students' motivated behaviour in language classes.

6. *Practitioner research*. Teachers are in an excellent position to conduct research on motivation in their own classrooms, although gathering self-report data about motivation and attitudes from one's own students does raise particular issues of reliability. On the other hand, since practitioner research is usually underpinned by pedagogical concerns (e.g. to improve the quality of the teaching-learning process, address problems in the classroom, or innovate), the data elicitation tools used (e.g. questionnaires, interviews, focus group discussions, learner journals, reflective writing) may well serve dual pedagogical and research functions – i.e. their primary importance may lie in

raising students' awareness of factors and processes influencing their motivation and helping them to deal with these constructively. By combining multiple quantitative and qualitative sources of students' reflective data with their own observations and introspections, teachers may conduct richly grounded studies of motivation-in-context following the principles of action research or exploratory practice (for further discussion and an example, see Li, 2006).

Quote 9.1 Dörnyei on why people don't mix methods more

Although this is a complex issue with undoubtedly several explanations, I believe that there are two main factors at the heart of it: a lack of sufficient knowledge about method mixing and a lack of expertise to implement a mixed design. The first factor is relatively easy to deal with: mixed methods research is a new phenomenon on the research palette and therefore it is likely to take a while for it to be fully integrated into methodology texts and courses. However, on the basis of the rate of its growing popularity it is safe to conclude that the full emancipation of the approach is not too far away. But when this happens, will people actually use it? Will established researchers change their monomethodological stance and will young scholars embrace the challenges of methods mixing? It is not easy to answer these questions because mixed methods research has a severe 'shortcoming': it requires the competent handling of both qualitative and quantitative research.

Dörnyei (2007b: 174)

Study 9.14

Martin Lamb (2004) Integrative motivation in a globalizing world. *System* 32: 3–19.

Purpose
To investigate changes in motivation over the first two years of formal learning of English among Indonesian junior high school students.

Participants
Two hundred and nineteen first year students (aged 11–12) from a junior high school in a provincial capital in Sumatra for the questionnaire survey; a focal group of 12 students selected from this sample for follow-up interviews; eight English teachers at the same school.

Instrument

- A questionnaire comprising single item Likert scales and rank order measures of students' attitudes and motivation to learn English, open-ended questions about why they liked or disliked English and their preferred ways of working in the classroom, and background questions.
- Follow-up semi-structured interviews with students exploring issues arising from the questionnaire data in more depth.
- Classroom observations of the focal group of learners.
- Informal interviews with teachers.

Procedures
A mixed-methods strategy was adopted, combining questionnaire surveys of the whole cohort at the beginning and end of the 20-month research period, with three phases of semi-structured interviews with and classroom observations of 12 focal learners, selected as representing diverse motivational profiles on the basis of their survey responses and teacher comments.

Data analysis
Descriptive analysis of the questionnaire data in terms of frequencies and percentages; detailed content analysis of the interview data, comparing students' responses and identifying common themes, and using the interview data to help interpret the survey data.

Results (selected)
Very high levels of motivation to learn English were found throughout the cohort, including integrative and instrumental orientations, but these two constructs were broadly indistinguishable, raising questions about the meaning of integrative orientation in this cultural context. Analysis of the qualitative data suggests that young Indonesians' motivation for learning English may reflect the pursuit of a bicultural identity, incorporating an English-speaking globally-involved version of themselves in addition to their local L1-speaking self; and that changes in motivation may partly be explained by reference to ongoing processes of identity construction, especially during the formative years of adolescence.

Study 9.15

Stephen Ryan (2009a) Ambivalence and commitment, liberation and challenge: investigating the attitudes of young Japanese people towards the learning of English. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 30(5): 405–20.

Purpose

To explore the language learning motivation of Japanese learners of English, with a special emphasis on examining the students' attitudes towards (i.e. enjoyment of) the language learning process.

Mixed methods design

The study followed a sequential explanatory mixed methods design, whereby a large-scale questionnaire survey was followed by an interview study in order to further investigate some of the quantitative findings using qualitative data.

Participants

The survey component involved 2,397 participants (1,177 male, 1,082 female, 138 missing gender data), drawn from nine educational institutions across Japan (five tertiary institutions and four secondary schools): 362 participants were secondary school students, 1,573 university English majors and 324 other university majors. The interview study involved 23 participants, with the particular study reporting data only from four of them (two English majors and two postgraduate students).

The study

The survey employed a complex questionnaire comprising 100 six-point Likert type items ranging across 18 attitudinal/motivational variables. In the particular study, results from only three scales were presented: attitudes to learning English, English anxiety and intended learning effort. Data were processed by SPSS, following standard procedures (for more detail, see Ryan, 2009b).

The qualitative phase involved three sets of semi-structured interviews. The first series (N = 10) was carried out prior to the construction of the questionnaire and was essentially exploratory in nature. The second (N = 9) was held three months after the final questionnaires had been processed, and the third (N = 4) was conducted several months later, after completing the preliminary data analysis, with the aim of further probing into certain key issues. All the interviews took between 30 and 40 minutes and were conducted in English, a preference expressed by the interviewees. The interviews were recorded and fully transcribed and then coded following a template approach (for more details, see Study 8.2 at the end of Chapter 8). The rationale behind the template approach, as opposed to a more emergent strategy, was simply that since the role of the interview data in this study was essentially secondary and explanatory, this represented the most time-efficient approach.

Results

The quantitative investigation suggested that enjoyment of the learning experience was a major factor in the motivation of English learners. However, subsequent examination of the data revealed several incongruities in this

initial analysis, and indeed, the subsequent qualitative investigation presented a more complex picture: it was found that for many Japanese learners 'liking English' was essentially nothing more than an intentionally vague, socially conditioned response but in other cases it represented a genuine commitment to learning. The author's conclusion was that this sense of commitment derived not so much from the values associated with English and an English-speaking community or a desire to interact with that community, as from factors in the learner's immediate social environment or personal experience that mediate these surface attractions of the language.

9.4 Adopting a complex dynamic systems approach

Although, as we have argued in several places in the previous chapters, a dynamic systems approach would offer obvious benefits for the study of the complex interaction of language, learner and learning environment, operationalising this dynamic relationship in specific theoretical and measurement terms takes us into rather uncharted territories, with few specific guidelines or templates currently available to follow. In a paper specifically devoted to discussing research methodology from a complex dynamic systems perspective, Larsen-Freeman and Cameron (2008b: 200) concluded: 'The dynamic, nonlinear, and open nature of complex systems, together with their tendency toward self-organisation and interaction across levels and timescales, requires changes in traditional views of the functions and roles of theory, hypothesis, data, and analysis.' In short, the new perspective requires changes in virtually *every* aspect of research. Let us describe in the following four key priorities that are specifically linked to these changes: (a) focus on 'attractors', (b) focus on context, (c) focus on change rather than variables and (d) focus on qualitative system modelling.

Quote 9.2 Byrne on the incompatibility of a dynamic systems perspective and statistics

If we think of the world as complex and real we are thinking about it in a very different way from the ontological program that underpins conventional statistical reasoning and cause.

Byrne (2002: 8)

9.4.1   Focus on 'attractors'

Dynamic systems display – by definition – continuous fluctuation, yet there are also times of seeming stability in most systems, when the system behaviour seems to be predictable. How can we explain these non-dynamic, settled states within a dynamic systems framework? The answer is provided by the concept of attractors and attractor states. These refer to preferred patterns to which the system is attracted (hence the name) and in which the elements are coherent and resist change. Not every system reaches such settled attractor states, but if there are strong attractors in place, a relatively wide range of starting points will eventually converge on a much smaller set of states because the process unfolds in the direction of the attractor (Nowak et al., 2005). In other words, powerful attractors act as stabilising forces and this stability, in turn, translates into consistency and predictability. In contrast, unstable phases in the development of the system are characterised by weak or changing attractors.

One way of thinking of attractors is to view them as some sort of 'safe islands' towards which the system gravitates in its inherent search for equilibrium. To give a language example, Larsen-Freeman and Cameron (2008a: 185) explain that within the dynamic process of conversation, attractors include 'conventionalised patterns of talk that shape the landscape and emergent features such as local routines, conceptual pacts, and shared metaphors'. For beginning language learners, even their limited L2 knowledge can be seen as some sort of an attractor in the sense that we often say what we can rather than what we want. And, most importantly for us, various motivational factors also act as potentially powerful attractors: a strong goal, incentive, talent or interest will definitely act as a stabilising force within the dynamics of the person-in-context system.

Thus, attractors and attractor states offer the key to researching complex dynamic systems. If the system is governed by strong attractors, it becomes predictable and thus researchable; in the absence of strong attractors, however, the system behaviour will be random. Meaningful research, therefore, needs to focus on identifying potential attractors and attractor states, and then describing their scope and relevance.

9.4.2   Focus on context

As we have seen in earlier chapters, complex, dynamic systems are in constant interaction with their environment, so much so that the context is seen as part of the system, with neither the internal development

of the organism nor the impact of the environment given priority in explaining system behaviour. Equilibrium in this sense means a smooth, ongoing adaptation to contextual changes (Larsen-Freeman and Cameron, 2008a). Accordingly, research paradigms need to extend beyond focusing merely on the L2 learner and his or her L2 learning achievement so that we can also gain adequate measures of the role of the context and the environment. This prominent emphasis is in accordance with the growing social concern in virtually all of contemporary SLA research and the challenge is to adopt a dynamic perspective that allows us to consider simultaneously the ongoing multiple influences between environmental and learner factors in all their componential complexity, as well as the emerging changes in both the learner *and* the environment as a result of this development. This latter aspect is critical because, as Ushioda (2009) points out, context is generally defined in individual difference research as an independent background variable, or a static backdrop, over which the learner has no control. Such a conceptualisation sustains the basic Cartesian dualism between the mental and the material worlds, between the inner life of the individual and the surrounding culture and society. A truly dynamic systems approach will need to bridge this gap between the inner mental world of the individual and the surrounding social environment.

9.4.3   Focus on change rather than variables

Social scientists, particularly those working with quantitative research paradigms, tend to focus on well-defined and generalisable *variables* to describe the social world around them. A dynamic systems approach needs to shift the emphasis from this variable-centred practice to studying how systems *change* in time. At this point, however, a significant question arises: is the necessary focus on attractors that we have argued about above not merely a redressing of the traditional emphasis on variables? We feel that it is important to stress that there is a fundamental difference between variables and attractors: variables are the outcome of a reductionist logic, a quest for the smallest common denominators of the social world in terms of discrete modular units. In contrast, as we argued in Section 4.3, the meaningful units of individual differences are cumulative conglomerates of cognitive, motivational and emotional factors that act as wholes – attractors are best conceived along these non-reductionist lines.

   An increased focus on change means in research terms an emphasis on longitudinal research (Section 8.4.3); indeed, we are in agreement

with Menard's (2002) assertion that longitudinal research should be seen as the default when we examine any dynamic processes in the social sciences. It is difficult to imagine a dynamic systems study that does not have a prominent longitudinal aspect. At the same time, the longitudinal dimension may well be at the micro-level of moment-by-moment processes of motivation-in-context, such as through the multimodal microgenetic analysis of interactions during a classroom learning episode (see for example Preston, 2009, for an innovative study of situated motivation using conversation analysis).

9.4.4   Focus on system modelling

System modelling is an important aspect of a complex dynamic systems approach because it considers, by definition, the coordinated operation of the whole system and allows for various cyclical processes, feed-back loops and iterations. However, drawing up quantitative models of complex systems may not only be mathematically too demanding but arguably also unrealistic and inadequate for cognitive and social systems (van Gelder and Port, 1995). As a possible alternative, Larsen-Freeman and Cameron (2008a) describe an interesting *qualitative modelling* approach that they call 'complexity thought modelling', comprising a series of steps: (a) identifying the different components of the system, (b) identifying the timescales and levels of social and human organisation on which the system operates, (c) describing the relations between and among components, (d) describing how the system and context adapt to each other, and (e) describing the dynamics of the system, that is, how the components and the relations amongst the components change over time.

Study 9.16

MacIntyre, P.D. and Legatto, J.J. (in press) A dynamic system approach to willingness to communicate: Developing an idiodynamic method to capture rapidly changing affect. *Applied Linguistics*.

Purpose
To investigate the rapidly changing dynamics of willingness to communicate (WTC) in second language communicative tasks by using unique, 'idiodynamic' methodology.

Participants

Six female Anglophone Canadian university students (ages 19–21) with varying ability of French, who had been involved in French immersion programmes.

Instrument

The participants first filled in a questionnaire, and then used a computer program specially written for this study to rate their own WCT. The software allowed for a video to play in one window of the screen and responses to WTC to be generated in another.

Procedures

The researchers video recorded the participants' performance in eight simple communicative tasks. The recording was played back to the participants immediately after they finished the tasks, and the special 'variable tester software' allowed them to rate their WTC as the video progressed by using the computer mouse to raise or lower the level of WTC shown on the screen (ranging from –5 to +5). When the rating process finished, a graph showing the ratings was printed. Afterwards, the video recording of the tasks was played back for a second time, with the researchers stopping it at each point where there was a dramatic change in WTC. Participants were asked in a retrospective fashion to describe why the change occurred. This discussion was also videotaped, and then transcribed and translated where necessary.

Data analysis

In the main part of the analysis, the six participants' self-report measures and WTC ratings were analysed individually, as six separate case-studies. The questionnaire data were considered against the respondents' actual performance (including their body language), their WTC ratings, observations about them during the tasks and their retrospective comments.

Results

Frequent and salient changes in WTC were observed over the few minutes that respondents spent engaging with the tasks – fluctuations that are lost when considering only a summary score for trait-like WTC, situational WTC or even task-related WTC. Interestingly, affective reactions reported by the observers were not always reflected in WTC ratings. The ongoing relationship between language anxiety and WTC appeared to be complex – at times seemingly positively, negatively or not at all related. The more detailed analysis revealed clear indications of the fact that WTC can be seen as a dynamic system.

Section

IV Resources and further information

The locus of motivation research: Linkages to other topics and disciplines

This chapter will...

- summarise the disciplines that are related to L2 motivation research in the social sciences and provide some key references to them;
- discuss the place of L2 motivation research within applied linguistics.

The study of L2 motivation is an interdisciplinary field as it requires some degree of expertise in three scholarly domains:

- language education,
- (applied) linguistics,
- psychology.

Because of this interdisciplinary nature of the domain, L2 motivation researchers can find materials relevant to their subject in a number of related disciplines within the social sciences where the understanding of human behaviour is a focal issue. Some of these areas, like motivational psychology, are obvious 'feeder disciplines'; however, there are also some other fields that contain useful information that one would normally not turn to. In order to help to locate these fields, in the following we will map the terrain of the social sciences with respect to the thematic linkages to L2 motivation research. First we will look outside the L2 field, then we will discuss the place of motivation research within L2 studies.

10.1   Language-learning motivation and related disciplines in the social sciences

The study of L2 motivation has always had strong ties to disciplines outside the boundaries of L2 studies. The 'pioneers' of the field in Canada – Robert Gardner, Richard Clément and Wallace Lambert – have all approached the issue from a psychological perspective, looking at the study of L2 motivation as a sub-area within social psychology. These scholars have been first and foremost social psychologists who had an interest in the attitudinal/motivational basis of second language acquisition and interethnic communication. Although the next generation of L2 motivation researchers have identified themselves more closely with applied linguistics and L2 studies, L2 motivation research has maintained its permeable boundaries. Even the shift from social psychological to cognitive-situated perspectives in the 1990s (Section 3.2) was characterised by an outward-looking orientation as researchers surveyed a wide array of motivation constructs in several branches of psychology in order to draw on them in developing new L2 models.

Because of the inherently interdisciplinary nature of the subject, anyone wishing to do research on L2 motivation needs to look both inside and outside the field of L2 studies for the relevant literature. The question, then, is: 'Where shall we look?' In our past research we have found valuable material in the eight domains detailed below.

Motivational psychology

This obvious link to L2 motivation research has been a thriving specialisation area within general psychology during the past century. Chapters 1 and 2 review many key publications in the field, and Deckers (2010), McInerney and Van Etten (2004), Reeve (2009) and Sorrentino and Yamaguchi (2008) offer comprehensive and highly informative overviews of the main trends and theories.

Educational psychology

Although 'motivation' refers to human behaviour in general, two behavioural domains in particular have been subject to extensive research: the motivation to *achieve* in general and the motivation to achieve in educational environments, that is, the motivation to *learn*. The findings in these two areas show many similarities and have often

been transferred to the other. Yet, there are also some important differences between motivation in educational and other (e.g. work) contexts, and consequently the study of student motivation has been a prominent subject in educational psychology. Authoritative summaries can be found in Brophy (2004), Dembo and Seli (2007), Schunk et al. (2007), Schunk and Zimmerman (2008), Stipek (2002) and Wentzel and Wigfield (2009).

In addition to the research focusing explicitly on motivation within educational psychology, there is a second area that has considerable relevance to the understanding of the motivational basis of instructed learning: the study of the *psychological environment* of the classroom. Fraser and Walberg (1991, 2005) provide a detailed account of the various research directions, instruments and findings (and Burden and Williams, 1998, and Dörnyei, 2007a,b, discuss their connection with the L2 field). The study of learning environments has developed into a major field of enquiry in educational research (see, for example, the dedicated academic journal *Learning Environments Research*, published by Springer), which in recent years has extended its focus to digital or virtual learning environments in instructed learning and distance education (e.g. Beetham and Sharpe, 2007; for a review of relevant issues in relation to language learning at distance, see White 2006).

Educational studies

Although educational psychology and educational studies show a considerable overlap, there are three traditional educational areas that are relevant to motivation research:

- *classroom management* (e.g. Burden, 1995; Jones and Jones, 2009);
- *instructional design* (for a review of the motivational aspects, see Cheng and Yeh, 2008; Keller, 1994);
- *research on teachers and teacher effectiveness* (for the 'classic' summary, see Wittrock, 1986; for more recent discussions, see Day, 2004; Day et al., 2007; Muijs et al., 2005).

Social psychology: attitude research

Social psychologists have been interested in human action because of the recognition that various aspects of the individual's sociocultural context have a considerable impact on the person's cognitions, emotions, behaviours and achievement. The most explicit treatment of this

effect has been within an 'attitude-causes-action' framework, in accordance with a key tenet in social psychology that someone's attitude towards a target influences the overall pattern of the person's responses to the target. Texts that offer insightful discussions of various related issues are Bohne and Wänke (2002), Ajzen (2005), Eagly and Chaiken (1993) and Geen (1995).

Social psychology: theories of social identity and social cognition

There are two further areas within social psychology that concern the sociocultural influences on human behaviour and thus, indirectly, social motivation:

1. *Social identity theory*, focusing on the effects of various social group memberships (e.g. ethnic, ethnolinguistic, professional) on the individual's self-image and aspirations.
2. *Social cognition theory*, focusing on how individuals process and store information about other people and how these mental processes affect their interaction with them.

For reviews of the interrelationship of the two perspectives, see Abrams and Hogg (1999) and Hogg and Vaughan (2007); for an explicit treatment of motivational issues within a social identity perspective, see Hogg and Abrams (1993).

Group dynamics

Membership in various small groups such as learner groups, project teams, work parties, etc., has a powerful impact on the group members' motivation and behaviour, for example through

- the socionormative influences of peer pressure;
- the directive influence of group goals;
- the general effects of group cohesiveness on group performance.

Such issues have been the subject of a great deal of research in an interdisciplinary field within the social sciences, *group dynamics*. For a comprehensive account of the field, see Forsyth (2009); for a summary of group dynamics in education, see Schmuck and Schmuck (2000); for an overview of the L2 educational implications of group dynamics, see Dörnyei and Murphey (2003).

Organisational psychology: work motivation

Employee motivation is understandably a key issue within work settings and therefore a great deal of research within organisational and industrial psychology has been directed at understanding

- which aspects of work design motivate employees;
- how this motivation can be enhanced;
- how worker dissatisfaction can be reduced.

The following volumes offer comprehensive overviews: Hersey et al. (2007), Latham (2007), Pinder (2008), Steers et al. (2003), Thomas (2009).

Communication studies

'Communication studies' is a thriving discipline within the social sciences, covering a variety of topics related to L1 language use, ranging from media studies to intercultural communication. The field in general has relevance to L2 studies that has not been sufficiently exploited by L2 researchers, and one particular subfield, *instructional communication studies*, specifically targets classroom motivation as a function of 'teacher immediacy' (i.e. verbal and non-verbal behaviours which reduce the physical and/or psychological distance between teachers and their students). An extension of this research direction within instructional communication studies has been the analysis of student motivation and 'demotivation', particularly in the light of the teacher's role in demotivating learners. For reviews, see Allen et al. (2006), Christophel (1990), Christophel and Gorham (1995), Rubin and Rubin (1992) and Witt et al. (2004).

10.2 The place of motivation research in applied linguistics

Motivation research (and individual difference research in general) has a somewhat ambiguous position within the field of applied linguistics. Although most summaries of the area acknowledge its importance, L2 motivation research is rarely given more than a marginal treatment in general overviews. For example, in the most comprehensive survey of

the field of second language acquisition (SLA) to date spanning over 1,000 pages (Ellis, 2008), discussion of motivational issues is largely confined to a 15-page section in an 80-page chapter on individual learner differences. As Ellis (pp. 690–1) observes, L2 motivation research has tended to lie outside mainstream SLA, largely because it has not directly concerned itself with the micro-level of cognitive processes implicated in language development.

More generally, we believe that the ambiguous treatment of motivation in L2 studies is due to at least three main reasons:

1. Even though the understanding of the complex mental processes involved in L2 learning is just as much a psychological as a linguistic issue, most researchers in the field have a background in linguistics, and postgraduate courses focusing on second language acquisition are also usually dominated by a linguistic approach. This predisposes L2 researchers towards concentrating on the linguistic aspects of the topic.

2. Until relatively recently, there were few theories proposed in the L2 field that could accommodate both linguistic and psychological constructs in a unified framework. Thus, the study of language processing did not organically orientate researchers towards using combined psycholinguistic paradigms in an integrated manner.

3. Traditional investigations on SLA and motivation have pursued different, incompatible agendas. Mainstream SLA research has focused on the development of language knowledge and skills and therefore analysed various language processes from a situated, process-oriented perspective. This perspective, however, has been largely incompatible with the product-oriented approach adopted by traditional motivation research, especially within the social psychological paradigm, whose main concern was to match motivational conditions and learning outcomes. Indeed, the typical focus of L2 motivation studies has tended to be at the broad level of global L2 achievement outcomes or persistence or engagement in learning, rather than at the micro level of acquisitional processes and linguistic development. Few studies have narrowed the lens to explore motivational variables in relation to specific aspects of psycholinguistic processing or language development, though notable exceptions include Segalowitz et al.'s (2009) work on motivational and L2 phonological development, and Takahashi's (2005) study of motivation and L2 pragmatic development.

Over the past 15 years, however, there were some important changes in the L2 field in these respects. Starting with Schmidt's (1995) well-known 'noticing hypothesis' several cognitive-psychological and psycholinguistic research directions reached 'mainstream' status in the study of L2 acquisition (for a review of the psychological processes underlying SLA, see Dörnyei, 2009b). As a result, the imbalance between linguistic and psychological approaches gradually began to decrease, thereby creating a more fertile research environment for the study of L2 motivation.

In addition to this increasing openness to the inclusion of psychological factors and processes into SLA research paradigms, the process-oriented approach to motivation research (see Section 3.3) has created a research perspective that is not unlike the general approach of SLA research, thereby enabling scholars coming from the two traditions to look at their targets through the same lens. This potential interface still does not automatically guarantee integration. As Dörnyei (2005) has argued, for real integration to take place, L2 motivation research needs to meet a final criterion, namely that it should focus on specific *language behaviours* rather than general learning outcomes as the criterion measure. To exemplify this, instead of looking, for instance, at how the learners' various motivational attributes correlate with language proficiency measures in an L2 course (which used to be a typical traditional design), researchers need to look at how various motivational features interact with the learners' specific learning behaviours during the L2 course, such as their increased willingness to communicate in the L2, their engagement in learning tasks or their use of certain self-motivational strategies.

Finally, with the current paradigm shift towards dynamic systems and complexity theory approaches to SLA and applied linguistics, there is very real potential for much closer integration between motivation research and mainstream work in the field. As we noted in Section 4.3, the dynamic systems perspective renders the notion of distinct individual difference variables rather meaningless, since processes of motivation, cognition and emotion and their constituent components continuously interact with one another and the developing context, thereby changing and causing change, as the system as a whole restructures, adapts and evolves. In short, once we view motivation as an integral part of this evolving organic and adaptive system of cognitive, affective and contextual processes shaping SLA, it is clear that the analysis of motivation will no longer be separated from the primary

concerns of SLA research. Moreover, it seems likely that the analysis of motivation may play a major role in any dynamic systems perspective on SLA, given the need to consider the processes of human agency, intentionality and reflexivity that are fundamental to the dynamic interactions between self and context (Sealey and Carter, 2004).

Sources and resources

This chapter will...

- summarise the various information sources and databases relevant to the study of L2 motivation;
- offer a collection of motivation questionnaire items that have been used successfully in the past.

11.1   Relevant journals and magazines

There is no particular L2 journal or magazine that specialises in motivational issues; rather, most of the main L2 periodicals publish relevant articles from time to time. Having said that, there are certain differences in priorities among the various academic journals, so it may be useful to look at the most important ones.

- *The Modern Language Journal* has been, for many years, an especially supportive forum for articles (both data-based and conceptual) that addressed the affective foundation of L2 learning and teaching. We should note, however, a recent decision of the Editorial Board of this journal, namely that they will not publish papers in the future that are based only on questionnaire data.
- *Language Learning* has also played an important role in publishing primarily quantitative studies, and this was the forum where Crookes and Schmidt's (1991) influential position paper on the need for more education-friendly motivation research appeared. In 2003, *Language*

Learning produced a special state-of-the-art supplement edited by Dörnyei (2003b), which brought together five key empirical studies on L2 attitudes and motivation published in the journal since 2000 and mapped future research directions.

- *Studies in Second Language Acquisition* (SSLA): because motivation is a key factor in determining the rate and success of second language acquisition, SSLA has also considered contributions on the topic despite its predominantly linguistic orientation.

- *Journals with a specific classroom focus: Language Teaching Research* has published several motivation papers focusing on the role of motivation in instructional contexts, and articles on motivation targeted at practising teachers have been published in *Language Learning Journal* and *ELT Journal*.

- *Other relevant international journals:* within the last decade or so, quite a few articles on L2 motivation have begun to appear in *System*, *TESOL Quarterly* and *Applied Linguistics*, as well as the recently founded journal *Innovation in Language Learning and Teaching*. Research highlighting the social dimension of L2 motivation particularly in multilingual settings has often been published in the *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* and the *Journal of Language and Social Psychology*. Because of the importance of motivation research in Canada, the *Canadian Modern Language Review* has always been a natural forum for research conducted in that context, while in America *Foreign Language Annals* has published several related papers.

- *East Asian journals:* The growing popularity of research on L2 motivation is East Asian contexts is reflected in the number of articles now appearing in journals such as the *Asian EFL Journal*, *Asian Journal of English Language Teaching (AJELT)* and *JALT Journal*, often with a focus on practical classroom implications.

11.2   Databases, citation indexes, Internet resources and discussion groups

A central issue in any scientific domain is to find ways of keeping abreast of the professional literature. One way of knowing what has been written on the topic is by looking at the references of published articles or books. However, these references are obviously selective,

and because of the time lapse between the completion and the publication of a work the references will not be completely up-to-date. How can we learn about the most recent materials coming out in the field? In the following we will list the various methods that we have used in the past.

11.2.1   Information about books

There are several sources that contain relevant data on published books:

- '*Books in Print*': various versions of such collections (under somewhat different titles) exist both in a book format and on CD-ROM. These can be accessed in libraries and they allow searches by the author, the title and (sometimes) the main subject area.
- The *catalogues of most major libraries* are accessible on the Internet (e.g. the British Library: http://www.bl.uk, or the Library of Congress: http://catalog.loc.gov), offering various search possibilities. A full list of online catalogues and other online reference materials and services is available on the websites of the British Library and the Library of Congress.
- The online Amazon bookstore (http://www.amazon.com or http://www.amazon.co.uk) is a very useful information source, storing literally millions of titles. It has excellent search facilities that one can use even if you do not want to buy anything, and it provides a free email messaging service when books on particular topics have been published.
- Google Books (http://books.google.co.uk/) contains an ever-growing repertoire of complete manuscripts and book extracts freely available on the Internet. It is interesting to note that in many cases the 'limited preview' coverage of works is surprisingly 'unlimited', with only a few pages left out. Furthermore, there is an ongoing legal discussion in publication circles at the time of writing this manuscript concerning Google's intention to scan in and publish digitally every book that has appeared in print.

11.2.2   Information about articles

Finding information about articles is becoming increasingly easy with the variety and accessibility of online resources and search engines, such as the following:

1. The richest information sources are *computer databases* that are available either on CD-ROMs or online on the Internet (often with a password that you can either subscribe to or obtain from your subject librarian). For research in our field we would recommend the following databases in particular:

   • *The MLA International Bibliography*. Produced by the Modern Language Association of America, this database of over 2 million records covers academic articles and (some) chapters of edited volumes in the areas of literature, languages, linguistics and folklore. Further information: http://www.mla.org/bibliography.

   • *ERIC* and *the British Education Index*. These databases cover a great number of educational and educational psychological journal articles, book chapters and ERIC Documents. ERIC, which is presently the largest education database in the world, is produced by the Educational Resources Information Centre of the US Department of Education. Further information: http://www.eric.ed.gov/.

   • *PsycINFO*. This is an abstract database that provides systematic coverage of the psychological literature from the 1800s and currently contains over 2.7 million records. It allows various search modes and full abstracts are available for all the articles included. We have found this to be the most comprehensive database for motivation studies outside the L2 field. Further information: http://www.apa.org/psycinfo/.

   • *Linguistics and Language Behaviour Abstracts*. This is the major database on the nature and use of language, offering abstracts of journal articles and citations to book reviews drawn from over 1,500 serials publications, and also providing abstracts of books, book chapters, and dissertations. Further information: http://www.csa.com/factsheets/llba-set-c.php.

2. There are also two *citation indexes* that can be used to find relevant information about articles (including any references that are cited in an article and the list of articles that have cited your own work!):

   • *Social Sciences Citation Index*
   • *Arts and Humanities Citation Index*.

   Because of the interdisciplinary nature of L2 motivation research, both indexes cover this area, although we have found the former to be considerably more exhaustive. Both indexes exist in book format, on CD-ROM and also online on the Internet, but access to the Internet indexes requires special authorisation, usually from a library. Further information: http://www.isiknowledge.com/ or http://wok.mimas.ac.uk/.

3. There are some further *commercially maintained databases* that contain information about academic journals; it is usually free to look at the content pages of the journals and to conduct thematic searches, and if you have made certain arrangements (e.g. financial subscription or through your library) it is also possible to download the full text of the articles. Examples of such databases include:
   - '*ingentaJournals*' (http://www.ingentaconnect.com/), covering over 13,000 publications offering full abstracts for the articles;
   - '*ScienceDirect*' (http://www.info.sciencedirect.com/) covering more than 2,500 academic journals and 9 million full text articles.

4. Several *international publishers* (e.g. Cambridge University Press, Oxford University Press, Sage) also offer article search facilities for their own journals on their websites.

5. An increasing number of authors – especially in the USA – make the full text of their articles and book chapters available on their personal websites (see e.g. Zoltán's website at http://www.nottingham. ac.uk/english/research/cral/doku.php?id=people:zoltan, which contains most of his work in a downloadable form).

11.2.3   Internet discussion group

We are aware of one Internet discussion group that specialises in student motivation and is maintained by the 'Motivation in Education' Special Interest Group of the American Educational Research Association. Information about how to subscribe to it can be found on the website of the Special Interest Group (http://www.motivationsig.net/), as well as other useful information and links to resources.

11.3   Sample tests and measurement instruments

In Section 9.1.1, we argued that because of the great diversity of language-learning environments and because of the social sensitivity of attitude/motivation questionnaires, no battery can be used mechanically (i.e. without making considerable adjustments) in contexts other than where it was developed. We also pointed out, however, that we can still benefit from drawing on existing item pools and published instruments as long as we bear in mind that the items may not have the same psychometric properties in our sample as in the population they were originally devised for. In the following we will:

- list a number of publications whose appendices contain the motivation scales or interview guides used in the particular study;
- present items from three motivation questionnaires used with language learners in Hungary, Japan, China and Iran.

11.3.1   Publications containing questionnaires and interview guides

Bernaus and Gardner (2008): mini-AMTB

Bourhis et al. (1981): Subjective Vitality Questionnaire

Burstall et al. (1974)

Chen et al. (2005)

Christophel (1990)

Clément et al. (1994)

Clément and Kruidenier (1983)

Colletta et al. (1983)

Dörnyei (1990)

Dörnyei et al. (2006)

Dörnyei and Ushioda (2009): this edited volume contains several motivation scales

Ehrman (1996)

Ely (1986)

Falout et al. (2009)

Gardner (1985): the Attitude/Motivation Test Battery (AMTB); see also Robert Gardner's homepage for various versions of the AMTB (http://publish.uwo.ca/~gardner/)

Gardner et al. (1997)

Genesee et al. (1983)

Green (1993)

Horwitz (1988): Beliefs About Language Learning Inventory (BALLI) (reprinted in Young, 1999)

Horwitz et al. (1986): Foreign Language Classroom Anxiety Scale (reprinted in Young, 1999)

Humphreys and Spratt (2008)

Julkunen (1989)

Julkunen and Borzova (1997)

Kruidenier and Clément (1986)

Lukmani (1972)

Noels et al. (2000)

Pierson et al. (1980)

Roger et al. (1981)

Sakai and Kikuchi (2009)

Schmidt et al. (1996) (also contains the Arabic version)

Sparks and Ganshow (1999)

Speiller (1988)

Tseng et al. (2006)

Wen (1997)

Williams and Burden (1999)

Yihong et al. (2007)

Young (1999): this edited volume contains several anxiety scales

11.3.2   The motivation questionnaire used by Clément et al. (1994)

There are three things we would like to note at the outset concerning the questionnaire items in this instrument:

1. Although the items are thematically grouped, they are not listed in clusters of multi-item scales; this is because they may form different clusters when used in other samples.

2. When the original Hungarian items were developed, the authors were drawing on published motivation questionnaires from Clément and Kruidenier (1983), Gardner (1985), Lukmani (1972), Pierson et al. (1980) and Roger et al. (1981), as well as on the instrument used by Clément (1986). The Hungarian questionnaires therefore owe much to the work of these scholars.

3. The original language of the following items was Hungarian. The items were presented in a random order to the students. Instructions for the Likert and semantic differential scales are shown but background questions are not included.

Instructions for Likert items

Following are a number of statements with which some people agree and others disagree. We would like you to indicate your opinion after each statement by putting an 'X' in the box that best describes the extent to

which you agree or disagree with the statement. Thank you very much for your help.
For example:

Pickled cucumbers
are unhealthy   □   □   □   □   □   □
                 –––   ––   –   +   ++   +++
                 Strongly Disagree Slightly Partly Agree Strongly
                 disagree   disagree agree   agree

If you think, for example, that there is something to this statement but it is somewhat exaggerated, you could put an 'X' in the fourth box...

                                            –   +
                                        – –   + +
                                      – – – + + +
1. ...   □ □ □ □ □ □
2. etc.   □ □ □ □ □ □

Section 1 (six-point Likert scales)

Studying English is important to me ... (this sentence beginning was added to all the following statements and it is left out here only for the sake of space economy):

1. because I would like to meet foreigners with whom I can speak English.
2. because I would like to make friends with foreigners.
3. because it will enable me to get to know new people from different parts of the world.
4. so that I can keep in touch with foreign friends and acquaintances.
5. because I would like to learn as many foreign languages as possible.
6. because it will help me when travelling.
7. because it will enable me to get to know various cultures and peoples.
8. because it will enable me to learn more about the English world.
9. because it will enable me to learn more about what is happening in the world.
10. because an educated person is supposed to be able to speak English.

11. so that I can be a more knowledgeable person.
12. because without it one cannot be successful in any field.
13. so that I can broaden my outlook.
14. because I may need it later (for job, studies).
15. because without English I won't be able to travel a lot.
16. so that I can understand English-speaking films, videos, TV or radio.
17. so that I can understand English pop music.
18. so that I can read English books, newspapers or magazines.
19. because I would like to travel to countries where English is used.
20. because I would like to spend some time abroad.

It is important for me to know English . . . (this sentence beginning was added to all the following statements and it is left out here only for the sake of space economy):

21. in order to think and behave like the English/Americans do.
22. in order to be similar to the British/Americans.
23. in order to know the life of the English-speaking nations.
24. in order to better understand the English-speaking nations' behaviour and problems.

Further items in this section

25. I do not particularly like the process of learning English and I do it only because I may need the language.
26. I would rather spend my time on subjects other than English.
27. I really like learning English.
28. The British are open-minded and modern people.
29. The more I learn about the British, the more I like them.
30. The British are usually reliable and honest.
31. The British are kind and friendly.
32. I would like to know more British people.
33. The Americans are sociable and hospitable.
34. I like the way the Americans behave.
35. I would like to know more American people.

36. The Americans are friendly people.
37. The Americans are kind and cheerful.
38. I enjoy hard work.
39. I easily give up goals which prove hard to reach.
40. I hate to do a job with less than my best effort.
41. In my work I seldom do more than is necessary.
42. If my teacher wanted someone to do an extra English assignment, I would certainly volunteer.
43. I frequently think over what we have learnt in my English class.
44. To be honest, I very often skimp on my English homework.
45. I get nervous and confused when I am speaking in my English class.
46. I always feel that the other students speak English better than I do.
47. It embarrasses me to volunteer answers in our English class.
48. I never feel quite sure of myself when I am speaking English in our English class.
49. I am afraid that other students will laugh at me when I speak English.
50. I usually get uneasy when I have to speak in English.
51. I feel calm and confident in the company of English-speaking people.
52. I do not find it embarrassing at all if I have to give directions in English to English-speaking tourists.
53. When I have to speak English on the phone I easily become confused.
54. Compared to other groups like mine, I feel my group is better than most.
55. There are some cliques in this group.
56. If I were to participate in another group like this one, I would want it to include people who are very similar to the ones in this group.
57. This group is composed of people who fit together.
58. There are some people in this group who do not really like each other.
59. I am dissatisfied with my group.

Section 2 (six-point rating scales ranging from 'absolutely not' to 'definitely yes')

60. Are you satisfied with your work in the English course?
61. Are you satisfied with your English proficiency?

Section 3 (five-point rating scales ranging from 'elementary' to 'advanced')

62. Please indicate on the following scale the level of English that would already satisfy you.

Instructions for semantic differential scales

The following section of the questionnaire aims at finding out about your ideas and impressions about SOMETHING. In answering the questions we would like to ask you to rate these concepts on a number of scales. These all have pairs of opposites at each end, and between these there are seven dashes. You are to place a tick mark on one of the seven positions, indicating how you feel about the particular concept in view of the two poles. For example, if the scales refer to 'plumbing manuals', which you find rather boring but fairly useful, you can place your tick marks as follows:

PLUMBING MANUALS

Exciting ____:____:____:____:____:_✓_:____ **boring**
Useless ____:____:____:____:_✓_:____:____ **useful**

In the following items please place your tick marks rapidly and don't stop to think about each scale. We are interested in your immediate impression. Remember, this is not a test and there are no right or wrong answers. The 'right' answer is the one that is true for you. Be sure to make only one tick mark on each scale. Thank you!

Section 4 (seven-point semantic differential scales)

Appraisal of the English teacher

63. imaginative–unimaginative
64. interesting–boring
65. suited–unsuited
66. consistent–inconsistent
67. conscientious–slapdash

68. enthusiastic–unenthusiastic
69. hardworking–lazy
70. helpful–unhelpful
71. fair–unfair
72. sympathetic–unsympathetic

Appraisal of the English classes

73. varied–uniform
74. good atmosphere–bad atmosphere
75. interesting–boring
76. easy–difficult
77. useful–useless
78. meaningful–meaningless

11.3.3   The motivation questionnaire used by Dörnyei et al. (2006)

The original language of the following items was Hungarian. The items appear in the random order they were presented in the question-naire. Again instructions for completing the rating scales are shown below but background questions are not included.

Instructions for rating scales

We would like to ask you to help us by answering the following questions concerning foreign language learning. This is not a test so there are no 'right' or 'wrong' answers and you don't even have to write your name on it. We are interested in your personal opinion. Please give your answers sincerely as only this will guarantee the success of the investigation. Thank you very much for your help.

   In the following section we would like you to answer some questions by simply giving marks from 1 to 5.

5 = very much   4 = quite a lot   3 = so-so   2 = not really   1 = not at all

For example, if you like 'hamburgers' very much, 'bean soup' not very much, and 'spinach' not at all, write this:

	Hamburgers	Bean soup	Spinach
How much do you like these foods?	5	2	1

Please put one (and only one) whole number in each box and don't leave out any of them. Thanks.

5 = very much   4 = quite a lot   3 = so-so   2 = not really   1 = not at all

	German	French	Russian	English	Italian
1. How much do you like these languages?					
2. etc.					

Section 1 (all the questions concerned five languages: German, French, Russian, English and Italian)

1. How much do you like these languages?
2. How much do you think knowing these languages would help you to become a more knowledgeable person?
3. How important do you think these languages are in the world these days?
4. How important do you think learning these languages is in order to learn more about the culture and art of its speakers?
5. How much effort are you prepared to expend in learning these languages?
6. How much do you think knowing these languages would help you when travelling abroad in the future?
7. How much do you think knowing these languages would help your future career?
8. How well does your mother speak these languages?
9. How well does your father speak these languages?
10. How much would you like to become similar to the people who speak these languages?

Section 2 (all the questions concerned six countries: France, Britain, Russia, Germany, USA and Italy)

11. How much would you like to travel to these countries?
12. How rich and developed do you think these countries are?

13. How important a role do you think these countries play in the world?
14. How much do you like meeting foreigners from these countries?
15. How much do you like the films made in these countries? (Write 0 if you don't know them.)
16. How much do you like the TV programmes made in these countries? (Write 0 if you don't know them.)
17. How much do you like the people who live in these countries?
18. How often do you see films/TV programmes made in these countries?
19. How much do you like the magazines made in these countries? (Write 0 if you don't know them.)
20. How often do you meet foreigners (e.g. in the street, restaurants, public places) coming from these countries?
21. How much do you like the pop music of these countries? (Write 0 if you don't know it.)

Section 3 (five-point Likert scales ranging from 'not at all true' to 'absolutely true')

22. I am sure I will be able to learn a foreign language well.
23. I think I am the type who would feel anxious and ill at ease if I had to speak to someone in a foreign language.
24. People around me tend to think that it is a good thing to know foreign languages.
25. I don't think that foreign languages are important school subjects.
26. I often watch satellite programmes on TV.
27. My parents do not consider foreign languages important school subjects.
28. Learning foreign languages makes me fear that I will feel less Hungarian because of it.
29. Learning a foreign language is a difficult task.

Section 4

30. If you could choose, which foreign languages would you choose to learn next year at school (or work)? Please mark three languages in order of importance.
    1) ....
    2) ....
    3) ....

11.3.4   The motivation questionnaire used by Taguchi et al. (2009)

Three versions of this questionnaire were developed for use with learners of English in Japan, China and Iran respectively (for more details, see Study 9.7 in Chapter 9). For a detailed description of these instruments, see Dörnyei (2010a).

Scales for statement-type items:
1 (Strongly disagree)   **2** (Disagree)   **3** (Slightly disagree)
4 (Slightly agree)   **5** (Agree)   **6** (Strongly agree)

Scales for question-type items:
1 (not at all)   **2** (not so much)   **3** (so-so)
4 (a little)   **5** (quite a lot)   **6** (very much)

Note:
The tick in the table indicates the item used in the instrument (**J** = Japanese version, **C** = Chinese version, **I** = Iranian version). (R) means a reversed item.

1   Criterion measures

ITEM	J	C	I
If an English course was offered at university or somewhere else in the future, I would like to take it.	☑		
If an English course was offered in the future, I would like to take it.		☑	☑
If my teacher would give the class an optional assignment, I would certainly volunteer to do it.			☑
I would like to study English even if I were not required.			☑
I would like to spend lots of time studying English.		☑	☑
I would like to concentrate on studying English more than any other topic.		☑	☑
I am prepared to expend a lot of effort in learning English.	☑	☑	☑
I am working hard at learning English.	☑		
I think that I am doing my best to learn English.	☑	☑	
Compared to my classmates, I think I study English relatively hard.		☑	

2   Ideal L2 self

ITEM	J	C	I
I can imagine myself living abroad and having a discussion in English.	☑	☑	
I can imagine myself studying in a university where all my courses are taught in English.			☑
Whenever I think of my future career, I imagine myself using English.	☑	☑	☑
I can imagine a situation where I am speaking English with foreigners.	☑		
I can imagine myself speaking English with international friends or colleagues.		☑	☑
I can imagine myself living abroad and using English effectively for communicating with the locals.			☑
I can imagine myself speaking English as if I were a native speaker of English.		☑	☑
I imagine myself as someone who is able to speak English.	☑	☑	
I can imagine myself writing English e-mails fluently.			☑
The things I want to do in the future require me to use English.	☑		

3   Ought-to L2 self

ITEM	J	C	I
I study English because close friends of mine think it is important.	☑	☑	☑
Learning English is necessary because people surrounding me expect me to do so.	☑	☑	☑
I consider learning English important because the people I respect think that I should do it.		☑	☑
If I fail to learn English I'll be letting other people down.			☑
Studying English is important to me in order to gain the approval of my peers/teachers/family/boss.		☑	☑
I have to study English, because, if I do not study it, I think my parents will be disappointed with me.	☑		
My parents believe that I must study English to be an educated person.	☑		
Studying English is important to me because an educated person is supposed to be able to speak English.		☑	
Studying English is important to me because other people will respect me more if I have a knowledge of English.		☑	☑
It will have a negative impact on my life if I don't learn English.		☑	

4 Parental encouragement/family influence

ITEM	J	C	I
My parents encourage me to study English.	☑		
My parents encourage me to study English in my free time.	☑		
My parents encourage me to take every opportunity to use my English (e.g. speaking and reading).	☑		
My parents encourage me to practise my English as much as possible.			☑
My parents encourage me to attend extra English classes after class (e.g. at English conversation schools).	☑		
My family put a lot of pressure on me to study English.		☑	☑
My parents/family believe that I must study English to be an educated person.		☑	☑
Studying English is important to me in order to bring honours to my family.		☑	☑
Being successful in English is important to me so that I can please my parents/relatives.		☑	☑
I must study English to avoid being punished by my parents/relatives.	☑		
I have to study English, because, if I don't do it, my parents will be disappointed with me.			☑

5 Instrumentality – promotion

ITEM	J	C	I
Studying English can be important to me because I think it will someday be useful in getting a good job.	☑	☑	
Studying English is important to me because English proficiency is necessary for promotion in the future.	☑	☑	☑
Studying English is important to me because with English I can work globally.	☑		
Studying English can be important to me because I think it will someday be useful in getting a good job and/or making money.			☑
Studying English is important because with a high level of English proficiency I will be able to make a lot of money.		☑	
Studying English can be important for me because I think I'll need it for further studies on my major.	☑		
Studying English can be important to me because I think I'll need it for further studies.		☑	☑
Studying English is important to me because I would like to spend a longer period living abroad (e.g. studying and working).	☑		

5   Continued

ITEM	J	C	I
Studying English is important to me because I am planning to study abroad.			☑
I study English in order to keep updated and informed of recent news of the world.			☑
Studying English is important to me in order to achieve a special goal (e.g. to get a degree or scholarship).		☑	☑
Studying English is important to me in order to attain a higher social respect.		☑	
Studying English is important to me because it offers a new challenge in my life.		☑	
The things I want to do in the future require me to use English.		☑	

6   Instrumentality – prevention

ITEM	J	C	I
I have to learn English because without passing the English course I cannot graduate.	☑		
I have to learn English because without passing the English course I cannot get my degree.			☑
I have to learn English because I don't want to fail the English course.		☑	☑
I have to study English because I don't want to get bad marks in it at university.	☑		
I have to study English because I don't want to get bad marks in it.		☑	☑
Studying English is necessary for me because I don't want to get a poor score or a fail mark in English proficiency tests.	☑	☑	
Studying English is necessary for me because I don't want to get a poor score or a fail mark in English proficiency tests (TOEFL, IELTS, . . .).			☑
I have to study English; otherwise, I think I cannot be successful in my future career.	☑		☑
Studying English is important to me, because I would feel ashamed if I got bad grades in English.		☑	☑
Studying English is important to me because, if I don't have knowledge of English, I'll be considered a weaker student.	☑	☑	☑
Studying English is important to me because I don't like to be considered a poorly educated person.			☑

7 Linguistic self-confidence

ITEM	J	C	I
If I make more effort, I am sure I will be able to master English.	☑		
I believe that I will be capable of reading and understanding most texts in English if I keep studying it.	☑		
I am sure I will be able to write in English comfortably if I continue studying.	☑		
I am sure I have a good ability to learn English.	☑		

8 Attitudes toward learning English

ITEM	J	C	I
I like the atmosphere of my English classes.	☑		
Do you like the atmosphere of your English classes?		☑	☑
I always look forward to English classes.	☑		
Do you always look forward to English classes?		☑	☑
I find learning English really interesting.	☑		
Do you find learning English really interesting?		☑	☑
I really enjoy learning English.	☑		
Do you really enjoy learning English?		☑	☑
Do you think time passes faster while studying English?			☑
Would you like to have more English lessons at school?			☑

9 Travel orientation

ITEM	J	C	I
Learning English is important to me because I would like to travel internationally.	☑	☑	☑
Studying English is important to me because without English I won't be able to travel a lot.	☑	☑	☑
I study English because with English I can enjoy travelling abroad.	☑	☑	☑

10 Fear of assimilation

ITEM	J	C	I
I think that there is a danger that Japanese people may forget the importance of Japanese culture, as a result of internationalisation.	☑		
I think that there is a danger that Chinese people may forget the importance of Chinese culture, as a result of internationalisation.		☑	
I think that there is a danger that Iranian people may forget the importance of Iranian culture, as a result of internationalisation.			☑
Because of the influence of the English language, I think the Japanese language is corrupt.	☑		
Because of the influence of the English language, I think the Chinese language is corrupt.		☑	
Because of the influence of the English language, I think the Persian language is corrupt.			☑
Because of the influence of the English-speaking countries, I think the morals of Japanese people are becoming worse.	☑		
Because of the influence of the English-speaking countries, I think the morals of Chinese people are becoming worse.		☑	
Because of the influence of the English-speaking countries, I think the morals of Iranian people are becoming worse.			☑
I think the cultural and artistic values of English are going at the expense of Japanese values.	☑		
I think the cultural and artistic values of English are going at the expense of Chinese values.		☑	
I think the cultural and artistic values of English are going at the expense of Iranian values.			☑
I think that, as internationalisation advances, there is a danger of losing the Japanese identity.	☑		
I think that, as internationalisation advances, there is a danger of losing the Chinese identity.		☑	
I think that, as internationalisation advances, there is a danger of losing the Iranian identity.			☑

11   Ethnocentrism

ITEM	J	C	I
I am very interested in the values and customs of other cultures. (R)	☑		
I respect the values and customs of other cultures. (R)	☑		
I find it difficult to work together with people who have different customs and values.		☑	
It is hard to bear the behaviour of people from other cultures.			☑
I think I would be happy if other cultures were more similar to Japanese.	☑		
I would be happy if other cultures were more similar to Chinese.		☑	
I would be happy if other cultures were more similar to Iranian.			☑
It would be a better world if everybody lived like the Japanese.	☑		
It would be a better world if everybody lived like the Chinese.		☑	
It would be a better world if everybody lived like the Iranian.			☑
Other cultures should learn more from my culture.		☑	
Most other cultures are backward compared to my Chinese culture.		☑	
Most other cultures are backward compared to my Iranian culture.			☑
I am proud to be Japanese.	☑		
I hope that people from other religions would accept Islam as their best way to salvation.			☑
I think that when people from other cultures are in Iran, they should follow our Islamic rules (e.g. in dressing style and their relationship with opposite sex).			☑
I think, compared to what is said in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and other religions, Islam is more concerned about human rights.			☑

12   Interest in the English language

ITEM	J	C	I
I feel excited when hearing English spoken.	☑		
I am interested in the way English is used in conversation.	☑		
I find the difference between Japanese vocabulary and English vocabulary interesting.	☑		
I like the rhythm of English.	☑		

13   English anxiety

ITEM	J	C	I
I get nervous and confused when I am speaking in my English class.	☑		
How nervous and confused do you get when you are speaking in your English class?		☑	☑
How afraid are you that other students will laugh at you when you speak English?			☑
I would feel uneasy speaking English with a native speaker.	☑		
How uneasy would you feel speaking English with a native speaker?		☑	☑
If I met an English native speaker, I would feel nervous.	☑		
I would get tense if a foreigner asked me for directions in English.	☑		
How tense would you get if a foreigner asked you for directions in English?		☑	☑
How afraid are you of sounding stupid in English because of the mistakes you make?		☑	☑
How worried are you that other speakers of English would find your English strange?			☑

14   Integrativeness

ITEM	J	C	I
How important do you think learning English is in order to learn more about the culture and art of its speakers?	☑	☑	☑
How much would you like to become similar to the people who speak English?	☑	☑	☑
How much do you like English?	☑	☑	☑

15   Cultural interest

ITEM	J	C	I
Do you like the music of English-speaking countries (e.g. pop music)?	☑	☑	☑
Do you like English films?	☑	☑	☑
Do you like English magazines, newspapers, or books?	☑		☑
Do you like TV programmes made in English-speaking countries?	☑	☑	☑

16   Attitudes toward L2 community

ITEM	J	C	I
Do you like to travel to English-speaking countries?	☑	☑	☑
Do you like the people who live in English-speaking countries?	☑	☑	☑
Do you like meeting people from English-speaking countries?	☑	☑	☑
Would you like to know more about people from English-speaking countries?	☑	☑	☑

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Author Index

Subject Index

acculturation theory, 45
achievement motivation, 14, 17–18
action control (strategies), 35–6, 64, 66, 96, 125
action control theory, 65
action plan, 64, 132
affect, 5, 40, 91
affiliative motive, 52
agency, 54–5, 76, 78, 260
amotivation, 23, 139–40
anxiety, 48–9, 52, 54, 57, 110–11, 120–2, 221, 250, 266–7, 282
Attitude/Motivation Test Battery (AMTB), 220–1, 266
attractor state, 247
attractors, 11, 246–8
attribution theory, xii, 5, 15–16, 49, 55, 58, 126
attributions, 15–17, 52, 55–6, 58, 64–6, 69, 75, 108, 126–7, 236
autonomy (learner), xii, 25, 49, 52, 55, 57–9, 66, 68, 108, 118, 122–4, 134–5, 162–3, 183, 191, 235–6

beliefs about language learning (BALLI), 117, 266

choice motivation, 61, 65
classroom goal structure, 27, 52, 66
classroom management, 255
cognitive-situated period, 39, 46–60, 86

cohesiveness *see* group cohesiveness
competence/perceived competence, 16–18, 22, 25, 52, 54, 57, 120–1, 162, 171, 235–6
complex dynamic systems, xii, 32, 36–8, 70–4, 77, 88–99, 191, 202, 207, 237, 246–50, 259
complexity theory, 88
conscious/unconscious motives, 5
contact (interethnic), 43
context/contextual factors, 6–8, 25–38, 53, 70–3, 75–9, 137–8, 153–7, 160, 163–5, 183–4, 246–8, 259–60
contingent path, 165–7, 173–4
cooperative learning, 27–8, 122
correlational studies, 11, 213, 217–21, 226
cross-sectional research, 202, 207–9

demotivation, xi, 137–57, 224–5, 227, 237, 257
distal goals *see* proximal goals
dynamic systems theory, 11, 27, 72–3, 88

emergentism, 72–3, 77
emotion, 5, 15–16, 18–19, 22, 35, 90–1, 97, 125
enthusiasm, 110, 187–90
equilibrium, 37, 247–8